

# IN THESE TIMES

The  
Camp  
David  
Talks  
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Sept. 13-19, 1978

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## GETTING BY

UNDOCUMENTED  
WORKERS SLIP  
BY BORDER  
PATROLS TO  
EKE OUT A  
LIVING IN  
THE U.S.

After falling from a lemon tree Mr. Barrios was refused treatment at a local hospital because he was undocumented. His arm was amputated as a result.

PHOTO BY CATHY MURPHY



# THE INSIDE STORY



## New pope won't break with rigid past

Guest Column by Gary MacEoin & Nivita Riley

Cardinal Albino Luciani, known only to a few people in northeast Italy and to the other 110 members of the exclusive club that chose him in secret to lead and rule 709.6 million Roman Catholics as Pope John Paul I, inherits a heavy load of problems. How he deals with them will affect not only those who see him as vicar of Christ on earth but countless other millions.

As Pope John XXIII demonstrated, the pope can influence mightily the search for a world order in which wealth is shared more equitably and all people have a voice in determining their own destiny. If Pope Paul by his negativeness and navel-gazing in recent years dissipated some of the moral stock accumulated by John, the papacy still remains one of the potentially most important influences on world opinion.

Will John Paul renew the hopes John raised? Obviously, a firm answer is not yet possible. When John was elected from similar obscurity in 1958, nobody suspected he would inaugurate the revolution in Catholic thinking and action that followed his encyclical on human rights *Pacem in Terris* and the Second Vatican Council that opened in 1962. But on the basis of John Paul's known views, the likelihood that he will respond positively and creatively to the challenges that face him is remote.

### Rich vs. Poor.

Most acute of all the world issues the pope can influence is the growing gap between the few wealthy individuals and corporations (the globals or multinationals) that have a monopoly of power, and the masses of people in the Third World who lack food, clothing, shelter, and sanitation to live at a human level. The issue is assuming greater importance for the Catholic church. Its center of gravity has recently shifted from the rich countries of Western Europe and North America, and by the year 2000, 70 percent of its members will live in the economically poor and dependent countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia.

Vatican Council II faced this issue realistically. Rejecting the earlier teaching that the church should concentrate on "saving souls," it called on its members to join with all the other forces working to make the world a better place to live in, giving the same priority to improving the condition of the poor that characterized the teaching and life style of the historical Jesus.

Pope Paul in the first years after his election in 1963 took this call seriously. A major encyclical, *Populorum Progressio*, gave an analysis in depth of the economic distortions that created and perpetuated systemic poverty. It moved further toward a socialist solution than earlier papal documents, as did a later statement on the eightieth anniversary of Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*, the papacy's first major attempt to tackle world social

issues. Paul admitted, in a phrase smothered in reservations, that it might be permissible for a Christian to use the Marxist analysis as a tool for understanding reality.

Various groups of bishops followed the lead. The most striking statement was made by the bishops of Latin America meeting at Medellin, Colombia, in 1968. They opted positively for the poor, the voiceless, the oppressed. They identified the source of oppression as institutionalized violence, the neocolonialism of the national oligarchies, and the external neocolonialism of "the international monopolies and the international imperialism of money." They said that the situation called for "global, daring, urgent, and basically renewing change." The commitment to radical transformation was unambiguous: "a thirst for complete emancipation, liberation from every subjection, personal growth, and social solidarity."

Response from the people and many priests was enthusiastic. In intimate ecumenical cooperation with like-minded Protestants, Latin American Catholics began to develop a "theology of liberation." They rejected the developmentalist approach of the Alliance for Progress, an approach deeply imbedded in Catholic thinking, and many of them openly opted for socialism. An organization called Christians for Socialism was formed in Chile during the Allende regime and gradually spread all through the Americas and to other continents.

### Support for Christian Democrats.

The reaction that set in with the recession that world capitalism has been experiencing since 1967 has affected Roman Catholicism too. While the poor who bear the burden have become more radicalized, the church leadership has grown steadily more conservative and frightened. Well organized and heavily financed worldwide forces or reaction whose spokesman is the rebellious French archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, urge the church to "return to the sacristy," that is, to abandon its defense of the poor and resume its traditional role of legitimating the status quo.

The moment of truth will come for John Paul and for the church when Latin America's bishops assemble Oct. 12-28, a decade after the Medellin meeting. The reactionary forces gained control of the secretariat that prepared the basic document for the meeting, and they have been as brazen as Madison Avenue pitch-men in selling their product.

Will John Paul intervene to redress the balance? There are strong rumors that he may attend the meeting (although he is fearful of airplanes). But whether he does or not, what open or behind-the-scenes part will he play?

The son of a migrant socialist laborer, one might expect him to identify with the poor. Unfortunately, his conditioning from the time he entered the minor seminary in his pre-teens has given him a very different stamp. Stridently anticommunist, he has denounced all the elements he sees as promoting revolution today, from the Beatles to Fidel Castro.

In the same vein, he was the leader of the majority bloc of the Italian bishops who insisted it was the moral duty of Catholics to vote for the Christian Democrats. This party, in power thanks to Vatican and U.S. support since 1946, is hopelessly corrupt and inefficient. Whether he has learned from the rebuff given him by the eight million Italian Catholics who voted for the Communist party remains to be seen.

### Oldest bureaucracy.

Human rights, both as a world issue and as a domestic issue between governors and governed in the church, are also high on the list of challenges facing John Paul. The institutionalization of torture of suspects, arbitrary imprisonment, encouragement by reactionary

governments of vigilante death squads and wholesale exiling of political opponents have become commonplace in most Third World countries.

In much of Latin America, the Philippines and South Korea, Catholic church leaders are the only voice the regimes have been unable to still. Open papal support would greatly strengthen their impact. The Roman Curia, the world's oldest and most entrenched bureaucracy, which reasserted in Paul's declining years the arbitrary powers that Vatican Council II had tried to curb, is committed to secret diplomacy. John Paul, no linguist and lacking experience in diplomacy or in the workings of the Roman Curia, is likely to allow it to continue as hitherto.

Even more fundamental than the political rights, on which Carter concentrates his rhetoric, are the social rights to nutritious food, health care, clothing and a voice in the use of the means of production and in the distribution of goods and services. Here again, commitment to the Christian Democrats, whose record on all these issues is shameful, can be expected to keep John Paul silent or limited to vague generalities, as it does with nearly all of Italy's bishops.

### Obsession with abortion.

In its dealings with its own members, the church in practice falls behind both its profession of commitment to the teaching and example of Jesus Christ and to the ethical standards of contemporary society. Compulsory clerical celibacy is increasingly violated by priests who insist that the right to marry is inalienable, yet continues to be defended by the papacy. While not the only reason, the celibacy issue is the major reason for the decline in the number of priests and the parallel decline in the quality of those who choose the priestly life.

Women continue to be treated as inherently inferior, the refusal to ordain them being only the most obvious of many discriminations. Refusing to face the fact that many marriages fail and that the humane way to deal with such failures is to recognize divorce, the church has turned to legalistic devices to declare that a marriage had never taken place, devices that work for some and not for others, in part at least because of the arbitrary discretion of church courts. Many of those Catholics who divorce and remarry in violation of the rules become estranged from the church because of their social ostracism and denial of the sacraments.

Respect for life, the ultimate human right, has been excessively narrowed to condemnation of abortion, paying little attention to the reality that abortions tend to be statistically more frequent in countries of Catholic culture, including Italy, for the simple reason that social conditions combine with the prohibition of "artificial" methods of contraception to create situations in which the pregnant woman sees herself as having no alternative.

This same obsession with abortion is causing the church to direct much of its effort and resources to the support of laws that would impose its moral standards on all members of the community, not just its own members. In consequence, fewer resources are left to help improve the quality of life of all, especially the quality of life of the older people who are becoming a progressively higher proportion of the population.

The church, as Vatican Council II insisted, should be a sign and a service to the world: a sign of the continuing call of Jesus Christ to love and peace through justice; a service of sharing so that the world's limited resources would be equitably distributed for the benefit of present and future generations. Instead, what the world sees is a church primarily concerned with defending its own interests, using power to dominate people, the moral power of its threat of eternal punishment

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## U.S./MIDEAST

# Carter wagering peace, popularity on summit success

By Joseph Gerson

**A**S IN THESE TIMES WENT TO press, the biggest stories emerging from Camp David were that Jimmy Carter, Menachem Begin, and Anwar Sadat had met together, and they planned to recess for the weekend. While lines of communication have enabled the three to hear the rumblings of the Arab world and of Begin's political rivals in Israel, their meetings have been shrouded in a secrecy uncharacteristic of the Carter administration.

When Carter departed for the isolated mountain retreat, the press described him as a "somber man." He said himself that chances for a complete success at Camp David were "very remote." Days before he had remarked, "It is a very risky thing for me politically, because now I think that if we are unsuccessful at Camp David, I will certainly have to share part of the blame for that failure."

On a personal level, failure at Camp David will underline Carter's incompetence as a national security manager and will add incentive to those who are challenging his place on the 1980 Democratic presidential ticket. What statesman, after all, would call a summit meeting without having lower-level diplomats first resolve the major points to be negotiated?

If, on the other hand, Carter is able to engineer something more substantial than what the State Department calls "constructive ambiguity" or if he is able to breathe just enough life into the Israeli-Egyptian exchanges to keep them going a while longer, his newly acquired statesmanlike aura may win him some enduring points in the Harris Gallup opinion polls.

## Israel or oil.

When Carter spoke of the "risks of failure," he was also speaking as a representative of the American power elite who have, since World War II, molded a three-pillar Mideast system based on alliances with Israel, Iran and conservative Arab states. A collapse in negotiations may well force the U.S. to choose between Israel or oil—something policy-makers in Washington have sought to avoid for 30 years. Should the negotiations provide nothing concrete—no substantial Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and no significant steps toward Palestinian self-determination—it will be difficult for American loyalists in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon and the PLO to continue to contain the nationalist imagination of their peoples.

To avoid mass defection among the Arab states, U.S. policy would have to tilt openly and forcefully away from Israel and toward the Arab states. This is something that no Israeli government can afford. It would be intolerable to the majority of American Jewry. Its political costs for the President would be tremendous.

Failure at Camp David also means greater Arab confrontation with Israel and possibly war—a war that would threaten the stability of the capitalist world economy. The U.S. is currently meeting 50 percent of its oil needs through imports. Western Europe and Japan depend on Mideast oil for 50 percent of their oil supply. Retired Gen. Maxwell Taylor recently referred to this flow of oil as the "jugular vein of the West."

Short of war, the Arab world may well turn toward Western Europe, if not the Soviet Union, for diplomatic initiatives. If "moderate" Arab leaders do not turn away from the U.S., their failure to ob-

tain results may well mean a wave of resignations or coups—a transition to an era of greater Arab independence and militancy. Before departing Cairo, President Sadat moved to guard against this possibility. He indicated a willingness to meet with his Syrian and Palestinian critics at an Arab summit meeting later this month.

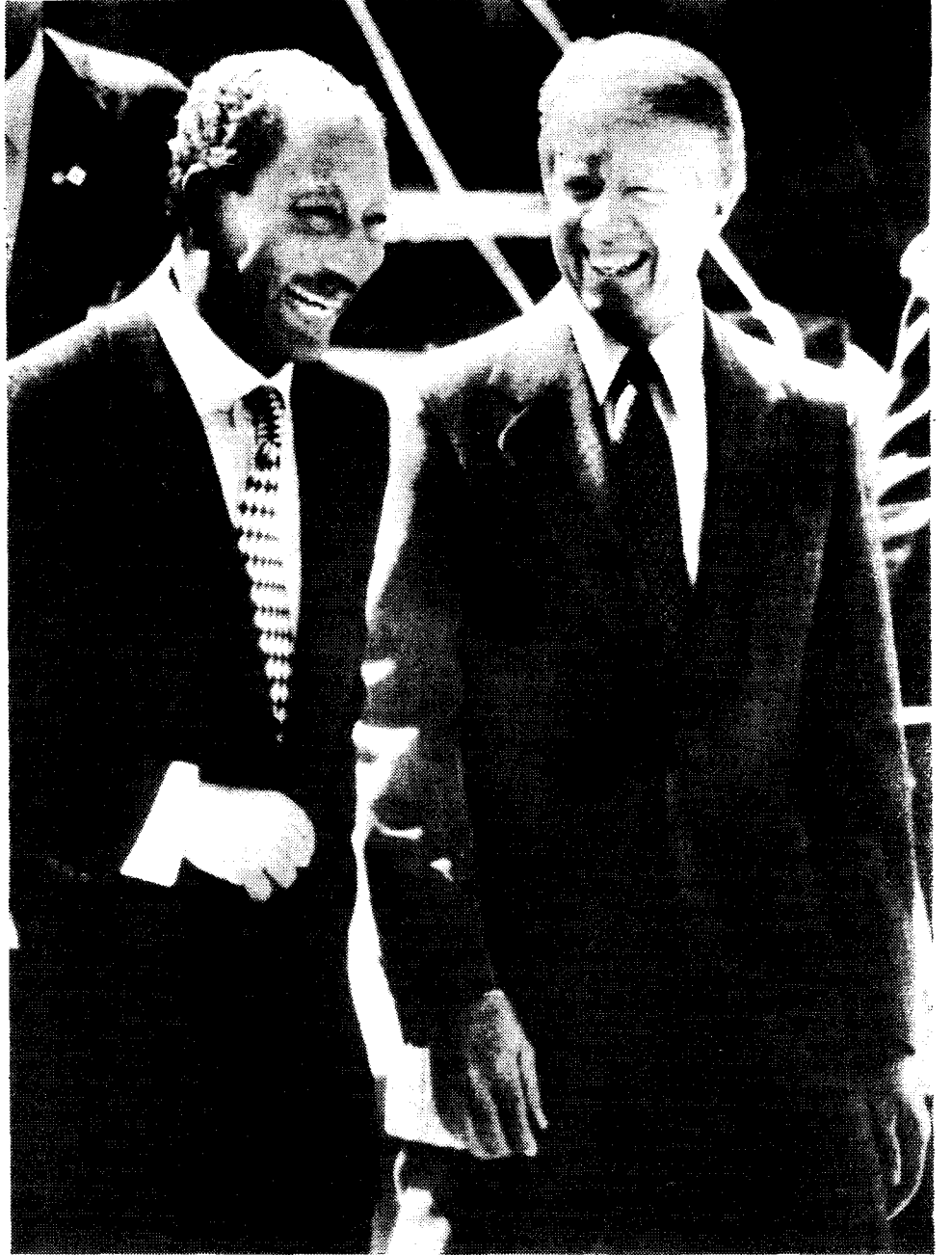
## Axiom Number One.

Contrary to Begin's rhetoric, Jimmy Carter has not contented himself with the role of "honest broker." He has been more than a "full partner in the negotiating process," as Sadat likes to say. Carter has quietly and consistently followed what Noam Chomsky has referred to as "political axiom number one: maintenance of primary U.S. control over the stupendous oil reserves of the Middle East and the exclusion of our European allies and the Soviets from independent access to these reserves."

There are several consistent components to this policy that Carter inherited from previous administrations. Traditionally, the policy has included the use of direct American military intervention

*Continued on page 10.*

UPI



President Carter and Egyptian President Sadat walk to their cars after Sadat arrived at Camp David Sept. 5.

# Begin probably won't budge

By Gidion Eshet

JERUSALEM

**W**HEN THE NATIONAL rights of the Palestinians first became a political issue after the 1967 war, Prime Minister Golda Meir, was the strongest opponent. Ever since, Israel has opposed the recognition of the Palestinians as a national entity and the establishment of a Palestinian state.

When Meir was first asked about her opinion on Palestinian rights she said: "I am a Palestinian. I hold a Palestinian passport issued by the British Mandatory Government." At the time, others explained her opposition with the following reasoning: The Zionist movement was the liberation movement of the Jewish people. In the process of establishing the Jewish state no harm was done to the local Arab population. On the contrary, the socialist Zionist movement opposed the exploitation of the Arabs. It aimed, successfully, at self-reliance. There were, so goes the reasoning, very few Arabs in the area and they never constituted a nation.

If a Palestinian entity or nation now is recognized, this would imply that this nation existed in the past and that the Zionist movement built the state in an area inhabited by another nation and expropriated the rights belonging to others. So that such a conclusion is not reached, the idea of Palestinian rights should be dropped.

No wonder, therefore, that Meir's colleagues in the Labour party were the first to oppose the new political plan put forward by Labourite and chairman of the Settlement Department in the Jewish agency—Raanan Weitz.

## New plan opposed.

In a memorandum to Prime Minister Menachem Begin, Prof. Weitz wrote that Israel should not oppose the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza if the Arabs agree to Israel holding to its settlements along the Jordan River and in the Rafah area in northern Sinai. The boundaries sketched

by Weitz are those of the Allon plan.

Yigal Allon, the former Foreign Minister of Israel, issued a similar plan in the late '60s which was rejected by King Hussein of Jordan. The difference between Allon and Weitz is that the former proposed returning the remainder of the West Bank to Jordan while Weitz thinks the Palestinians should have it.

## The Israeli peace movement continues to be fragmented and poses no threat to the ruling Likud party policies.

Labour opposition to the plan is an example of the lack of change in Israeli politics, even as the Camp David Summit takes place. Here is another example:

## Fragmented opposition.

One hundred Israeli reservists sent a letter to Prime Minister Begin notifying him that they are not able to defend and will thus oppose defending Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. They hinted that if, during military service, they are given an order to defend these settlements, they will disobey.

Logically, the first to defend them against rightist accusations should have been those political forces opposing the settlements and especially the Peace Now Movement. But the opposite occurred. The Peace Now Movement was the first to denounce the one hundred, claiming that the army should not be involved in the current political debates.

The opposition in Israel continues to be fragmented and does not pose a threat to the ruling Likud party. The Labour-MAPAM alignment continues to talk of a territorial compromise in the West Bank—a position rejected by Anwar Sadat and other Arab moderates. Former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said not long ago that if the Arabs proposed real peace

he would still reject withdrawal to the June 4, 1967 borders. This holds true, he added, also for Sadat's new proposal for minor modifications in the pre-1967 borders.

## Sadat's concessions.

The Likud is unwilling even to discuss the word withdrawal. This became evident when Begin, in a televised interview, clarified what seemed to be a minor modification in the Israeli official line proposed by Defense Minister Moshe Dayan in the Leeds Castle meeting of foreign ministers. Israel opposed any "foreign" rule over the West Bank. Until now it was even unwilling to discuss this issue.

In Leeds Dayan told Secretary of State Vance and Egypt's Foreign Minister Kamal that this subject could be discussed. Dayan's words on this subject were unclear. A debate began on the subject. Did Dayan say, "If the Arabs raised the subject of sovereignty in the territories Israel would be willing to discuss it"? Or did Dayan say, "Had the Arabs raised the subject, Israel would have been willing..."?

Begin gave the answer. Dayan meant the latter not the former. In other words the whole issue is related to the past not to the future.

It therefore seems that if the Camp David Summit's success depends on a moderation of the Israeli position, the chances are slim. Sadat, however, made two important concessions. He declared that he accepts the five-year interim period before the future of the West Bank and Gaza is determined. He also accepted that some minor modifications be made to the pre-1967 borders.

These two changes are intended to bring the Egyptian position as close as possible to that of the U.S. Sadat hopes that now the U.S. will put the necessary pressure on Israel.

The likelihood of such pressure seems poor.

But if President Carter is unwilling or unable to twist Begin's arm, the Middle East will be on the route to more trouble.

*Gidion Eshet is an Israeli journalist who regularly covers Mideast politics for IN THESE TIMES.*



## IN THE NATION

## THE LAW

## Slipping prayer back into school

By Josh Martin

**F**IFTEEN YEARS AFTER THE Supreme Court ruled that mandatory prayer in public schools is a violation of students' First Amendment rights, the issue has come back to haunt the Senate.

Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) prays every day and wishes everybody would. To enforce his belief, the devout Baptist has written legislation that would in effect reinstate prayer in public schools, despite opposition from major religious groups that stand to gain from its provisions.

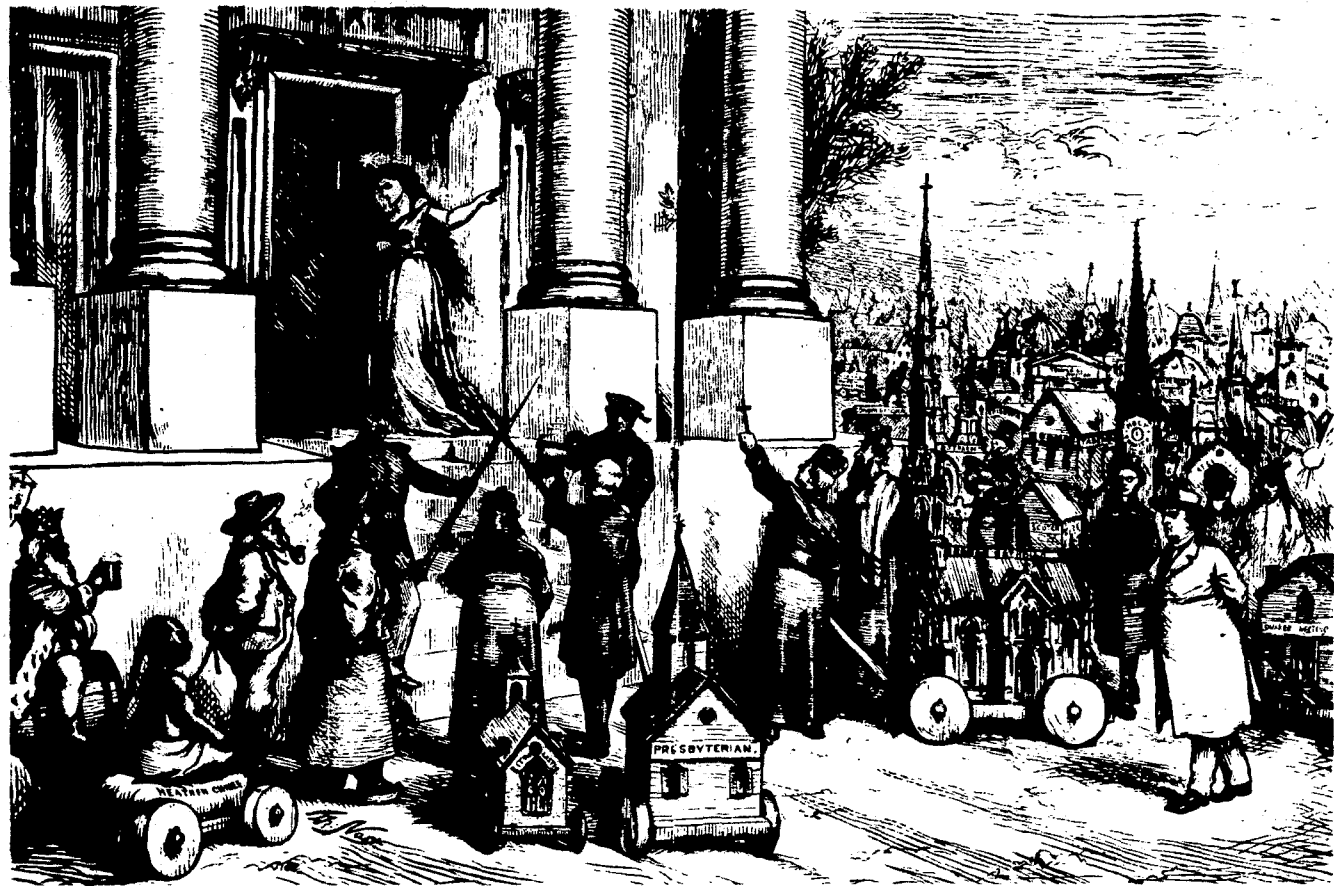
Helms' original prayer bill, S.2573, has been bottled up in committee since it was introduced this spring. But there are more ways than one to get a law on the books. Helms has made it known that he will reintroduce his bill this fall as a rider to S.3100, a noncontroversial piece of legislation from Sen. Dennis DeConcini's Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery designed to ease pressure on the Supreme Court by eliminating most of the Court's obligatory appellate jurisdiction. The rider would deny the Supreme Court power to consider cases involving school prayer—now called "voluntary school prayer"—and place the issue before more sympathetic state courts.

The conservative senator wants to deny federal courts power to consider the issue, believing that the Supreme Court decisions in 1962 and 1963 striking down official school prayer were a "sheer invention" of constitutional interpretation.

According to legislative aide Carl Anderson, Helms sees himself "defending the right of children to voluntary prayer in school that existed 150 years before the Supreme Court decisions." In asserting that state courts are the "proper forum" for debating the school prayer issue, the senator has reinterpreted the meanings of key sections of the Constitution. The First Amendment, which states that Congress shall make no law establishing a religion, Helms maintains "didn't intend to prevent state acts regarding religion." And the Fourteenth Amendment, applying the provisions of the First Amendment to the states, was not meant "to inhibit state encouragement of religion."

## Undoing the Warren Court.

Not everyone shares these perspectives. Yet, because of the shift to the right in recent years, liberals are taking Helms'



A cartoon by Thomas Nast in 1871 shows the state insisting on a separation from the church.

rider and the arguments behind it very seriously. The rider embodies many elements dear to resurgent conservatives: religion, states' rights, and emasculation of the Supreme Court—and reversal of the Warren Court's decisions in particular.

The American Civil Liberties Union has not missed the potential impact of Helms' legislation. According to Legal Director Bruce Ennis, Helms' proposal "would virtually erase Supreme Court decisions regarding rights over the past 50 years" by limiting the Court's sphere of admissible cases. And, he adds, by circumscribing the jurisdiction of the Court, Helms "would provoke a constitutional crisis of immense magnitude."

Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-AR), a co-sponsor of S.3100, has labelled Helms' legislation "patently unconstitutional." Yet informed sources on Capitol Hill say that there is probably enough conservative support—through trade-offs, technical maneuvers and lobbying—to ensure the rider a hearing on the full floor of the Senate. Thus the school prayer issue would be forced back onto the national stage, where it could draw support from swelled conservative ranks searching for a new cause.

By moving to place the school prayer issue under local and state court jurisdiction, Helms is seeking to have judgments rendered by sympathetic bodies more susceptible to pressure groups, because justices are frequently elected or appointed to limited terms.

## Churches side with Court.

Ironically, the conservative senator's proposal has been the subject of criticism by his fellow church members, who would stand to gain the most under its provisions. The Rev. James E. Wood Jr., executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, an umbrella organization for eight major Baptist groups, wrote senators that Helms' rider, if passed, would be "injurious to both a free society and a free state." And officials from the American Jewish Congress, the United Presbyterian Church, and other religious groups, in a strongly worded joint message, denounced attempts to mandate religious instruction in "secular public schools."

All this hue and cry has not deterred Helms, who maintains that it is "specious" to say that the voluntary prayer

issue "has anything to do with the First Amendment."

Aides add that the senator, who is running for re-election this year, may find considerable support for his pro-prayer stand down home. They cite polls that show 80 percent of the rank-and-file Baptists in North Carolina "favor voluntary prayer." They insinuate that there is a widening gap between church-goers and Baptist leaders. However, when asked for specific figures, one aide replied, "We have not done a head count and we don't intend to."

Many observers believe that, as he faces a strong challenge for his senate seat from populist Democrat John Ingram, Helms will use that ol' time religion to overshadow economic and political issues in the campaign.

However, sources close to the senator insist that there have been no discussions "of the political ramifications" of his rider. And Helms himself says that there has been no pressure on him to take this stand. "It's just something I feel very strongly about," he says.

Josh Martin is a regular contributor to IN THESE TIMES.

## Law center lends fledgling unions a hand

By Bob McMahon

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

**H**OW COULD THE NORTH Carolina labor movement meet its needs for legal support in a large state where only a very few lawyers were willing to take labor union cases?

That question had bothered Wilbur Hobby, president of the North Carolina AFL-CIO, for some time.

In June 1977 Hobby joined with other labor leaders and sympathetic lawyers to meet this gap with a unique resource: the North Carolina Labor Law Center.

"There are vast areas of North Carolina where there aren't any lawyers" to take union cases, explains Labor Law Center director Judith Kincaid. "Traditionally, working folk in, say, eastern North Carolina that are doing any kind of organizing had to turn to private law firms located a few hundred miles away,

or to their international union's legal department that may be centered in Atlanta or New York."

"What's really needed," Kincaid said, "is more lawyers in the state that are there all the time."

Kincaid said that North Carolina is the least unionized state and that it is particularly important for workers who are beginning to organize for the first time to have "a community of support." This has been lacking in North Carolina, where "everything—the schools, the churches, the established institutions—are biased against labor unions."

## Making some headway.

Kincaid sees the most important work of the Labor Law Center as supporting union organizing drives. Two victories in the Center's first year give her special satisfaction.

In Elizabeth City, N.C., a small town on the coast, two firefighters were suspended for circulating a petition around the department and going to the mayor

to discuss grievances. The firefighters union was just getting active there. After talking to local lawyers who said that they couldn't handle it, the firefighters went to the Labor Law Center.

The Labor Law Center filed a suit in federal court. The city relented, reinstated the two with back pay and agreed to rework grievance procedures. "This showed that public employees in that town didn't have to worry, that they do have the right to organize and to speak out about problems," Kincaid said.

In Laurinburg, N.C., the Labor Law Center, acting on behalf of a community group called the United Workers of Scotland County, joined the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in suing county and city governments and the Chamber of Commerce. The suit challenged use of public money for anti-union activity. As a result, a system was set up so that "We could be sure that our public, taxpayers money wasn't going to private, anti-union purposes," Kincaid said. The suit exposed what was happening

with the Chamber of Commerce and people in other cities started taking notice.

Besides problems tied to union organizing drives, the Labor Law Center has offered advice and legal help to established local unions on a wide range of issues, from polygraph testing to employers breaking into employee lockers to interpreting contract language.

Rather than being supported by fees for services, the Labor Law Center is supported by donations from local unions in North Carolina, and from international unions "that think it's important to see the South organized."

During the first year of operation, Judith Kincaid has been the only full-time attorney with the Labor Law Center. Kincaid sees the first year as a time the Labor Law Center was proving itself. It is presently the only center of its kind in the country. Bob McMahon is a regular correspondent for IN THESE TIMES.

The address of the North Carolina Labor Law Center is Box 12493, Raleigh, NC 27605.



## LABOR

# UFW moves to increase political clout

By Douglas Z. Foster

SAN JOSE, CALIF.

**A**FTER GOV. JERRY BROWN finished addressing the bi-annual political endorsement conference of the United Farm Workers on July 30, he and 550 delegates chanted together: "Viva Chavez, Viva UFW, Viva Brown."

Brown hoped to cement his political alliance with the UFW for the upcoming election and Cesar Chavez announced his intention to participate in the election on Brown's behalf. But rank-and-file members have questioned the union's increasing electoral activity and have resisted contributing to the UFW's political campaign fund. This resistance has led in several cases to threats of expulsion from the union, which has increased resentment to the union's political dues.

The growing debate within the union centers around the collection of Citizen Participation Department funds, money that supports the staff and pays the bills for the UFW political lobby.

In most UFW contracts, which cover 35,000 members, employers are required to set aside the equivalent of one day's wages for all employees during pea harvest season. If the worker signs a release consigning the money to the Citizen Participation Department, the union gets the money. If not, the money goes to the worker.

Increasing numbers of farmworkers have resisted signing the releases, and UFW leader Cesar Chavez has viewed the trend with such alarm that the political donations were made mandatory last year.

Under the National Labor Relations Act unions are not permitted to impose mandatory political contributions on their members. But since the UFW is covered by agricultural law, these mandatory deductions are legal.

The union then began to conduct "trials" across the state of workers who refused to make the donations. A few who refused to support the Citizen Participation Department even under the pressure generated by the trials are threatened with expulsion from the union and the loss of their jobs. One crew of lettuce workers in Salinas had only four among 37 workers contributing to the fund until a few weeks ago. Under threat of expulsion nearly all have reluctantly paid up.

## A union of rules.

The union representative explained, "Those who are resisting just don't trust the leaders of the union. They ask things like, 'Why should I give money to Jerry Brown?'"

The UFW's leadership responds to this sort of attitude with a barrage of arguments. Chavez called the UFW's lobbying drives "the second part of our struggle." Contracts with the growers are only a prelude to political consolidation of UFW gains, he said. "We have to act politically so that when we win in the fields the politicians and the growers don't take it away from us."

Political leaders in California, Chavez said, traditionally "left farmworkers to the growers' caprice even though our sweat and blood had fallen to make the growers rich."

Political conferences and donations to political candidates are necessary for the UFW to have a voice in government, Chavez said. "We need politicians who can hear us. A good candidate should not lose an election because he did not have enough money."

He acknowledged the union was encountering resistance from some members on contributions to the political fund. "We have some members who do not understand these things. It is our duty to make them understand," he said.

He also warned delinquent contributors that the requirement was now a part of the union constitution. "When we vote for a rule such as this, that law must be

But some members wonder, "Why should I give money to support political campaigns?"

followed. Without that, we do not have a union. We are an organization of rules, not caprice."

Asked how much the fund has collected for political campaigns, Chavez said, "It's not as much as the growers have—maybe someday it will be."

With 35,000 workers under contract, the fund could grow to more than \$1 million a year. Chavez and the executive board are determined to increase the number of union farmworkers in California and other states and thus increase their political power.

## Brown ties his fortune to UFW.

It is a campaign that appeals to Brown, who is involved in a gubernatorial campaign and has aspirations to the U.S. presidency. When asked why the UFW's endorsement was important, he said, "I think the vote of people of Latin or Mexican origin is significant in California, and it's continuing to grow."

He and Chavez have bickered over the governor's appointments to the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, which oversees representational elections in California's fields. However, election year considerations have made the quarrel seem superfluous and differences have been papered over. The UFW has loaned Brown's campaign Marshall Ganz, a national executive board member, and other members of the union staff.

Chavez introduced Brown at the conference as "the man who had the courage to work for and sign the law that gave you, the farmworkers, the right to bargain collectively, the historic Labor Relations Act of 1975."

Brown, however, sidestepped any particular commitment to programs on behalf of farmworkers during his next term. He lauded the union for self-reliance and for "not coming running to government to solve all your problems."

He also implied that the political fortunes of the UFW and his own presidential ambitions are firmly linked. "You will go on to organize farmworkers in Arizona, Florida, New York and all the states where there are farmworkers," Brown said. "I want you to keep going. I want you to keep going because as you grow stronger, so do I. If you get weaker, so do I."

The occasion was the second political endorsement conference in the UFW's history. Plans by the union call for such a conference every other year to be staged by the Citizen Participation Department.

Brown, U.S. Rep. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke and Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally addressed the conference Sunday and, along with 59 other Democratic candidates for state and national office, were granted the union's stamp of approval.

Dymally reminded the audience of his fight for "human impact statements" to be included in University of California's proposals for agricultural research. The union claims that 100,000 farmworker jobs could be lost to mechanization in the next decade.

Running a close race for attorney general, Burke seemed the crowd's favorite. She was introduced by a farmworker from San Diego who said she was "extremely proud at the union for endorsing a strong woman." Burke called for unity among California's minorities, saying, "It's a great tragedy that minorities have often fought each other over one slice of the pie. We ought to have enough pie so all of us can eat."

*Douglas Foster, a reporter for the Salinas Californian, specializes in coverage of labor and agricultural trends.*



Cesar Chavez has been trying to involve the UFW in electoral campaigns. In the past the UFW has supported Tom Hayden, seen here with Chavez, and Jerry Brown. But some members are reluctant to contribute to the union's political campaign fund.

## ELECTIONS

# Public election financing is far from adoption

By Rhodes Cook

**T**HE SUPPORT OF SOME OF THE biggest names in Washington—including President Carter, the Democratic leaders of Congress and Common Cause—hasn't been much help to the idea of using public money to pay for congressional campaigns.

The proposal has gone nowhere in the 95th Congress and it will face an uphill battle next year when proponents promise an effort to revive it.

"Support for public financing has always been very tentative," observes Rep. Edward W. Pattison (D-NY). "People make statements for it who are not really in favor of it."

Although Congress voted public financing for presidential races in 1974, efforts to extend the concept to congressional campaigns have stalled.

Republicans argue that the legislation would protect incumbents against effective challenges, lock in Democratic majorities and imperil the GOP's future. They add that public financing would be a wasteful use of taxpayers' money and would require an unwieldy new bureaucracy.

Southern and veteran northern Democrats, rather than claiming that public financing would protect incumbents, pri-

vately voice fears that it would increase competition in what for many are one-party districts. "The more of a challenger's bill public financing gets to be," says Pattison, "the harder it is to pass it."

## Taking it on the chin.

House Administration Committee Chairman Frank Thompson Jr. (D-NJ) and Majority Whip John Brademas (D-IN) angered fellow public financing supporters by drafting a campaign finance bill earlier in the year that included controversial limits on party and political action committee spending. The bill served to polarize the political atmosphere.

Public financing backers claimed the bill "poisoned the well" for their proposal, which they had intended to add as a floor amendment. "We overplayed our hand," reflected Pattison. "The bill created the whole aura of partisanship. We sure led with our chins."

Proponents are promising to renew the fight next year. "It's an idea that is far from dead," says Anderson.

Yet it's an idea that is also far from adoption. There has been no public clamor for congressional public financing, and while the proposal draws some vocal support in Congress as a "good government" issue, the resistance remains formidable.

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## LABOR

## Steven's threats fail to sway NLRB

By Bob McMahon

ROANOKE RAPIDS, N. C.

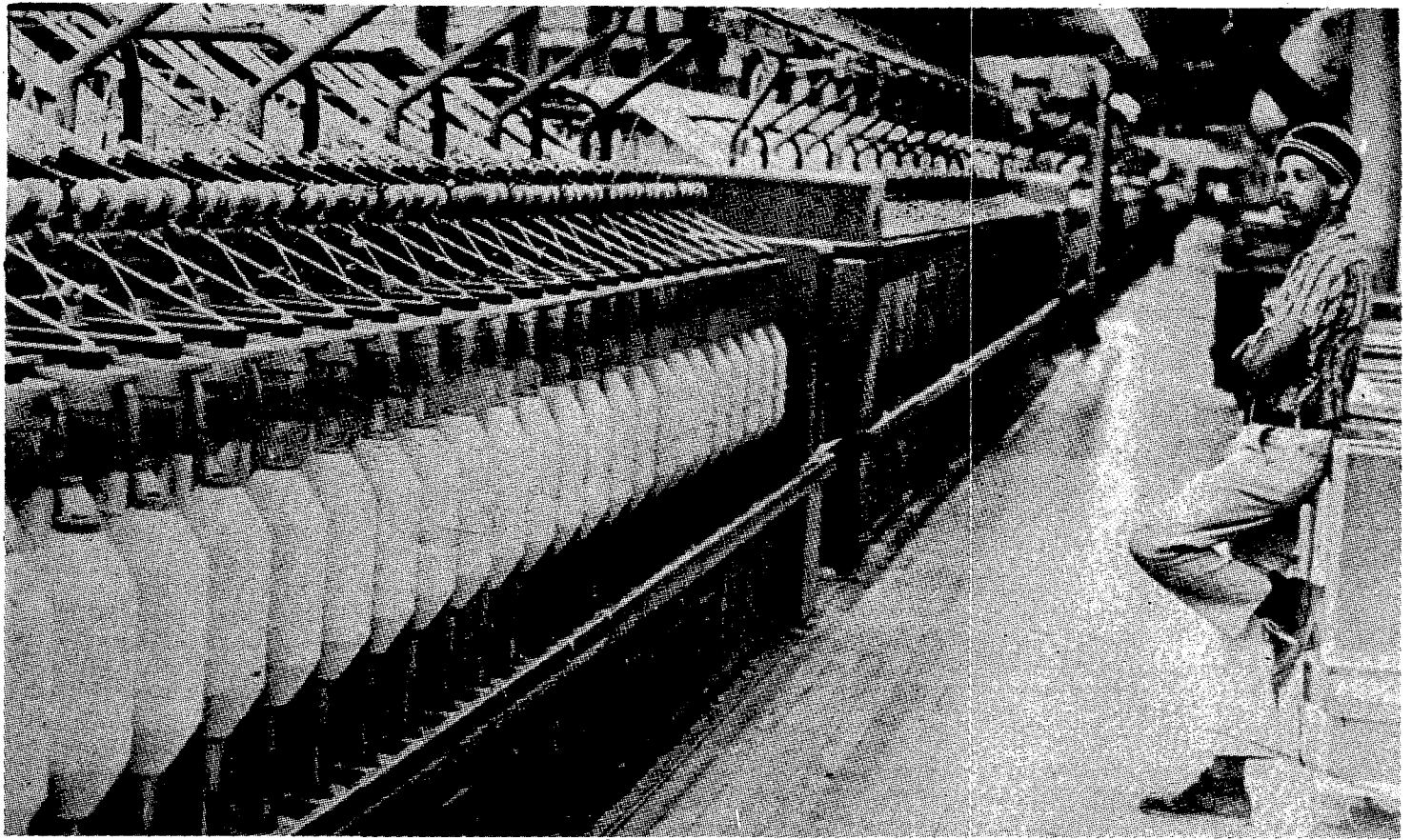
**T**HE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) marked a significant step forward recently in its campaign to organize J.P. Stevens. A complaint filed by the National Labor Relations Board in August charged that Stevens' intimidation tactics had made a fair election impossible at four plants where a majority supported the union. The NLRB said that the textile firm should recognize the union there immediately.

News of the NLRB complaint came as ACTWU members in Roanoke Rapids gathered to celebrate the fourth anniversary of their Aug. 28, 1974, election victory at seven Stevens plants there. The Roanoke Rapids election marked the textile union's first election victory in its efforts to organize the Stevens chain, the nation's second largest textile firm.

Holding up a newspaper account of the NLRB actions, ACTWU senior executive vice president Sol Stetin called it "wonderful." "We have more support all the time," Stetin told a crowd of 100 union activists jammed into a smoke-filled union hall in Roanoke Rapids. "Fourteen—nearly fifteen—thousand" Stevens workers have signed union cards, he said, and "we have majorities in 18 plants," including the seven in Roanoke Rapids. J.P. Stevens employs 44,000 workers in 85 plants.

The NLRB complaint hailed by Stetin came at four plants, employing 1,550 workers, located in Stuart and Woolwine, Va., and in nearby Westfield, N.C.

The NLRB complaint said that Stevens officials had threatened to close a plant if the union won representation there, questioned employees about their union activity, asked employees to revoke union authorization cards, and assigned employees suspected of union activity to



A machine operator watches the looms at a southern cotton mill.

## The National Labor Relations Board ruled in favor of Stevens workers who were harassed by the company.

harder jobs.

The decision at the Stuart, Woolwine and Westfield plants follows a decision in March by NLRB administrative law judge Joel Harmatz setting aside a union defeat in a 1975 election at two Stevens plants in Wallace, N.C.

Judge Harmatz found that the union

had lost despite majority support among the Wallace workers because of a "broad-scale assault upon employee rights" by the company. He ordered Stevens to recognize ACTWU in the Wallace plant without calling for a new election, as is the usual NLRB practice when setting aside election results.

According to ACTWU publicity director Burt Beck, the union has filed unfair labor practice charges against Stevens in at least four other plants that could result in orders to recognize the union without an election. Such orders are being sought at Stevens plants in Montgomery, Ala., Milledgeville and Tifton, Ga., and at the White Horse plant in Greenville, S.C.

Favorable action by the NLRB at the Greenville plant would be an especially important victory. The Greenville area is the main center of the southern textile industry, and of resistance to unions. Nearly one-quarter of all Stevens' employees are located at plants around Greenville. ■

Bob McMahon contributes regularly to IN THESE TIMES.

## THE LAND

## American farmers worry about growing foreign ownership

By Elizabeth Wehr

WASHINGTON

**D**EEP IN THE HEART OF TEXAS, the prince of Liechtenstein is said to own a 10,000-acre tract of farmland—just a little smaller than his own pocket-size nation. But neither the Agriculture Department nor Texas officials can confirm that the Liechtenstein story is accurate.

There's another story that "everyone knows is true"—according to one agricultural economist—but that nobody is able to confirm: The Queen of England owns a piece of lucrative Mississippi cotton plantation.

"Well, if she does it's probably through some corporation without her name on it," said a veteran official in the Agriculture Department's cotton program.

The absence of any national system to identify foreign buyers makes it impossible to estimate the scope of their holdings. But under pressure from complaining farmers, Congress may try to change that. It is considering legislation that would require such holdings to be reported.

Farmers say that the rate of foreign investment has shot up dramatically, for several reasons. Some blame the devaluation of the dollar, or an excess of "petro-

dollars" held by oil-rich Arabs looking for solid investments.

### Driving prices sky-high.

Affluent Europeans and South Americans, worried about political instability back home, also are said to be buying heavily. And Canadians are reported to be taking advantage of a favorable currency exchange rate and lower U.S. interest rates.

Real estate brokers estimate that in some regions land deals involving foreign interests last year accounted for up to half of all land transfers. The sales, farmers say, are driving farmland prices out of the reach of American producers.

A "spot check" by Congress' General Accounting Office (GAO) in June suggested that the farmers' concerns might be justified. In one Georgia county, foreign investors in 1977 acquired more than 6 percent of all the farmland, according to Sen. Herman E. Talmadge (D-GA), who ordered the report.

Now Congress appears ready to require all foreign owners of U.S. farmland, plus those holding long-term leases and other interests, to report these holdings to the Secretary of Agriculture.

A simple bill setting up the national reporting system, and providing stiff fines for those who fail to comply, quickly



## Has the Queen added Mississippi bottom land to the crown jewels?

passed the Senate—with no debate and no opposition.

One reason it is so hard to track down the stories about the prince, the queen and their fellow investors in U.S. land is that most states don't require foreigners owning or controlling farmlands to disclose their interests. And a survey of land records in the more than 3,000 counties would still be inconclusive, Agriculture Department officials say.

Like American owners, foreign investors can hide behind corporations, agents and other intermediaries. They may want to avoid hostility from local farmers "who think even New Yorkers are foreign," as one congressional aide put it.

A few states, such as Iowa, where descendants of the Austrian statesman Prince von Metternich own a couple of thousand acres, require reporting. Fewer still simply

prohibit foreign ownership of land in the state.

Behind the farmers' anxiety is a basic supply-and-demand problem: The total amount of land isn't going to get any larger, though more of it may come under cultivation thanks to irrigation or other improvements. If what the farmers say is true, the total proportion of U.S. farmland under foreign control is being greatly increased.

A few members of Congress filed bills this year that would simply outlaw purchases of U.S. land by foreigners.

But most members wouldn't even want to consider such a ban—even though it is not unusual in other countries—without having a better notion of just how widespread the foreign investment problem is.

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## MULTI-NATIONALS

# Buy American campaign sells short

By John Markoff and Lenny Siegel

MT. VIEW, CALIF.

**A**MERICAN CORPORATIONS that assemble digital watches, pocket calculators, computers and electronic games in Asia have started a "buy American" campaign in an effort to stave off a new Asian competitor—Japan.

Industry leaders in this country are upset by what they claim is Japanese cheating in international trade.

One frustrated executive of a major U.S. semiconductor firm told an audience recently, "I like competition. We are a multinational business, but fundamental to business and competition is an understanding of the rules." American industry leaders say that close cooperation between Japanese business and government gives Japan an "unfair" advantage.

The trade battle has raised new questions about the claims of American semiconductor manufacturers who say that the surge in Japanese technology will threaten American industry—and American jobs.

Unlike other industries that have been fighting losing battles against a rising tide of Japanese imports in recent years, the American semi-conductor industry moved most of its assembly operations to Asia first.

## Behind the campaign.

In the mid-1960s competition among American firms was so great that many of them established plants overseas. There tiny silicon chips, the heart of the new electronics revolution, are assembled by women paid as little as one-tenth as much as U.S. assemblers. After assembly the chips are air-freighted back to the U.S. for final processing and testing. A special provision of the U.S. Tariff Code allows the companies to pay duties only on the work done overseas, not the entire product.

More than 50 percent of the value of the final American semiconductor product is added overseas. This has led critics to claim that the "buy American" campaign instituted by a new trade association, the Semiconductor Industry Association, is designed more to protect company profits than to protect American workers' jobs.

One critic commented, "Semiconductor corporations aren't out to preserve American jobs. By 'buying American' they mean purchasing components manufactured by companies headquartered in the U.S., not necessarily products made by American workers." He stated that the American semiconductor industry is proposing restrictions to hold down Japanese imports, which amounted to only 3.3 percent of the U.S. semiconductor market in the first half of 1977, while American corporations reimported



nearly \$300 million worth of semiconductor parts—more than 60 percent of the entire market—during the same period.

"Though the reimports are made from wafers originally fabricated in the U.S.," he added, "over half the value of the final product is added in American assembly plants in Singapore, Malaysia, Korea and other Asian nations."

## Japan catching up.

In the past Japanese semiconductor firms have lagged behind the U.S. in sophisticated electronics technology. However, in recent months U.S. manufacturers have been expressing alarm about a Japanese plan to catch and surpass U.S. semiconductor technology by 1980. In 1976, the Japanese government's formidable Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) brought together the top five Japanese semiconductor and computer firms, plus Nippon Telegraph and Telephone, to establish a four-year cooperative research program costing at least \$250 million, and according to some U.S. estimates well over \$1 billion.

The four-year project is developing Very Large Scale Integrated Circuits (VLSI)—fitting more circuitry than ever into tiny silicon chips. The VLSI project is intended to create computers 100 times more powerful than the leading American commercial computer, the IBM 370. The Japanese basic research will have thousands of other industry and consumer applications as well.

It is the close working relationship established between Japanese business and government that American semiconduc-

tor manufacturers have pointed to as evidence of Japanese "cheating" in international trade.

To try to stay ahead of the Japanese, American semiconductor makers plan to spend an estimated \$200 million a year on their own VLSI programs. And the Bell System—which makes most of its own semiconductor components—is carrying on its own integrated circuit research. Some industry sources also report that IBM—which makes circuits for its own computers—may spend up to \$1 billion on VLSI studies in the next three years.

Although the Americans are spending as much as the Japanese on research and development, many are still worried that the Japanese may be quick to close the technology gap. American observers report that Japanese spending on research is more effective than American spending—maybe as much as 2.5 times as effective. American manufacturers also point to significant Japanese marketing success in automobiles, consumer electronics and steel, areas where the Japanese have already caught and compete successfully with American manufacturers.

## Trade barriers.

Although Japanese manufacturers have just begun to enter the U.S. market with semiconductor products, trade negotiations now going on between the U.S. and Japan may determine the extent of inroads that Japanese semiconductors will be able to make in the future.

American trade negotiators are worried that raising trade barriers to protect the

American semiconductor industry might touch off a full-scale trade war. Last year, in response to threats that barriers might be set up to stop the flow of Japanese televisions into America, the Japanese MITI circulated a survey to the U.S. semiconductor industry asking how they would respond if tariff barriers were raised significantly. The move was taken by American industry leaders as an unsubtle threat of retaliation.

In trade discussions that took place recently between the two governments American negotiators attempted to extract significant concessions from the Japanese—with little success. American negotiators wanted the Japanese to reduce their exports and open their domestic markets, now blocked by tariff and non-tariff barriers, to American imports. The Japanese were only willing to make cosmetic concessions, according to most observers.

Despite cabinet-level American warnings that the \$8 billion trade imbalance between the two countries cannot "go on indefinitely or the world economy [will] collapse," Japanese government and industry officials have been unwilling to set aside their goals for economic expansion in the 1980s. The Japanese are constrained in their options because their corporations are more highly-leveraged than their American counterparts and because of corporate full-employment policies.

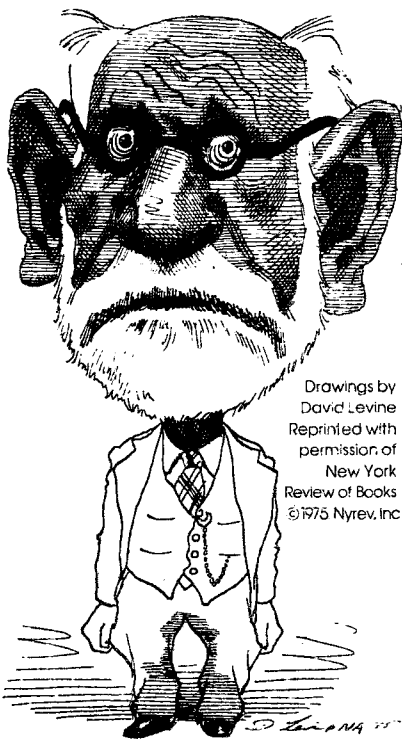
John Markoff writes for Pacific News Service on military affairs and foreign policy. Lenny Siegel is the coordinator of Pacific Studies Center in Mt. View, Calif.

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## EUROPE

# Portugal replaces Socialist rulers with technocrats

By Kathleen Swartzman

LISBON

**O**N JULY 27 PRESIDENT RAMALHO Eanes dismissed Prime Minister Mario Soares. Rejecting the options of maintaining Portugal's second government or constituting a third with elements of the parliamentary parties, Eanes chose a technocrat to form a third constitutional government. Prime Minister Nobre da Costa, his ministers and their program must still be ratified by the National Assembly of the Republic.

The second constitutional government, a coalition government between the Socialist party (PS) and the Social Democratic Center (CDS), emerged from the Jan. 19 accord, which was made in the face of pending negotiations with the IMF and a disastrous balance of payments.

The instability of the second government came from conflicts between the PS and CDS. The two parties differed on many things—whether to revise the constitution, whether to give emphasis to the public or the private sector.

These differences had been reflected in friction over cabinet personnel. The CDS received three ministerial posts, but they also appointed "shadow ministers" to accompany the balance of the PS ministers. Rather than just acting as spokesmen, they took active roles advocating policy, expressing dissatisfaction and veto of PS policy, all to the irritation of socialist ministers.

## Dispute over land policy.

The crisis became irreversible in early June. The CDS presented the PS with an ultimatum—meet five conditions or lose CDS participation in the accord. The CDS requested: better communication between the president and the government; the creation of future priorities; replacement of the three Socialist ministers; political action to intensify the dialogue of the government and social interest groups; and reconsideration of the PS-CDS accord. While the PS was amenable to some of the proposals, it was unwilling to replace its ministers.

Particularly at issue was the Minister of Agriculture and Fish, Luis Saias. Under the second government a compromise had been made to deliver some of the reserves of the large farms to their previous owners. In spite of the fact that 83 reserves, representing some 16 million hectares of land, had been returned to their former owners, the CDS complained that Saias was not fulfilling his obligations. It also demanded that the PS take more active steps to stop the rumors of a secret agreement between the Socialists and the Communist party (PCP) on the occupied lands in the Alentejo. On July 10, CAP (Association of Agrarian Landowners) protested against the lack of agrarian policy and demanded Saias' resignation.

On July 22, the word leaked out that there had been a break in the negotiations between the CDS and the PS. The three CDS ministers of the second government resigned. After meeting with PS and CDS representatives, Eanes concluded that their positions were irreconcilable, and dismissed the prime minister.

In accordance with the constitution, Eanes consulted the various parties re-

## Socialists see Soares ouster as part of anti-democratic strategy.

garding the nomination of the future prime minister. The PS, CDS and PCP interpreted the constitution to say that the prime minister must be appointed from the majority party, and therefore from the P.S. Eanes chose instead to appoint a technocrat to form a non-party government of presidential mediation.

The designated Prime Minister Nobre da Costa is an administrator and has a career linked with industry and management. After the April 25, 1974, revolution he participated in the first constitutional government as Minister of Industry.

Da Costa was called to form a government of presidential mediation, but without coalitions. Da Costa denies that the government will be as the press has described: A "government of maintenance" run by a "party of technocrats." He claims they will take policy initiatives.

Among the so-called social partners, those on the side of capital reacted favorably to the nomination. The labor federation, CGTP, said that the workers had no illusions. The Socialists said that the logic and dynamic of the next government would be of the right and that the Socialist party was of the left, and therefore was unable to support the government. However, they added, their party would not oppose the program if it were essentially that of the first two governments.

CDS applauded the nomination. The



Prime Minister Nobre da Costa

PCP said that the designated prime minister didn't have the characteristics that the PCP understands are necessary for solving the crisis but added, "Democracy will live" and "the party is confident that we live in liberty and democracy."

On the occasion of the opening of the special parliamentary session the respective party positions were essentially sustained. CDS stated that although it had earlier thought that the government must be led by a member of the Socialist party, it had come to see the impracticality of that. It moved to support da Costa. The PCP repeated that its final decision would

be revealed at the time of the parliamentary vote.

According to leftwing Socialists, Portugal's latest political crisis is a result of an anti-democratic strategy from the right whose purpose is to eliminate or modify the regime created by the April 1974 revolution. The breaking of the PS-CDS accord and the replacement of Soares by a technocrat was a step toward marginalizing the political parties—the fundamental organs of the nation's democratic life. ■

*Kathleen Schwartzman lives in Lisbon and follows Portuguese politics for IN THESE TIMES.*

# Danes protest nuclear construction

By Robert Steinbrook

COPENHAGEN

**T**HE FLAG OF THE ANTI-NUCLEAR movement flew briefly over Denmark, raising the possibility that the Danes will set an example for the world by rejecting all nuclear power plant construction.

Proclaiming "Atomkraft Nej Tak," about 30,000 people converged on the Christiansborg Palace at the center of the capital city on Aug. 27 and another 15,000 massed in the northern city of Aarhus. Some 8,000 more rallied in neighboring Sweden, which has six nuclear reactors. The total made for the largest anti-nuclear power demonstrations ever in the country.

Ironically, even as the demonstrators hoisted their flag onto the statue of King Frederic VII in front of the parliament building, leaders of the ruling but minority social democratic party, which faces an economic crisis brought on by persistent unemployment in excess of 10 percent, continued sensitive negotiations for a coalition government with conservative parties that favor an immediate start to power plant construction.

The marches were the culmination of six months of planning by the very effective Organization for Information on Atomic Power, or OOA. "If one country

in the Common Market is going to say no to nuclear power, it will be Denmark and it will be a rather amazing example," said Tarjei Haaland, a spokesman for the group. "If we can say no, nearly any country could." Of all the Common Market nations, only Denmark and Ireland are not in the nuclear reactor club.

The elements in the anti-nuclear debate here are somewhat unique but instructive. Denmark lacks the high concentration of heavy industry found in Sweden, so it escaped the early push for nuclear power before the safety hazards of the reactors and their wastes had been explored. Indeed, spurred on by the interest of the famous nuclear physicist Niels Bohr, it had studied the option as early as 1955 and rejected it as too expensive.

But with oil politics and the Swedish example came second thoughts. The construction of twin Swedish nuclear reactors at Barseback, just 20 kilometers across the water from Copenhagen, galvanized the anti-nuclear forces. The first of these plants began operation in 1975, the second last summer and they are due for a review in two years time. They send a small amount of their power output to Denmark.

Meanwhile, the OOA has repeatedly organized protests in Sweden. It has developed statistics to show that the "worst possible accident" at Barseback could lead to 20,000 long-term cancer deaths

in the Copenhagen area.

Denmark does have a substantial energy problem and more than some of its European neighbors is highly dependent on imported oil. But it does have some oil and gas reserves it could develop in the North Sea.

Some in the Danish government would simply sell the North Sea gas abroad and introduce several nuclear power plants here. But scientists at the Technical University of Denmark and the Niels Bohr Institute have compiled an alternative plan, under which 12 percent of the nation's 1995 energy needs would come from sun and wind, 24 percent from natural gas, 12 percent from coal and the balance from oil.

So far, the social democratic party has taken a wait-and-see approach, saying it has no quarrel with nuclear power per se, but wants to wait until after the waste disposal problem is "solved."

The aim of the marchers is to push for a definite "nej" now. And they have powerful allies, including the newspaper *Ekstra Bladet*, the nation's largest.

That leaves the balance of power up for grabs and it is conceivable the issue could be decided in the settlement of the current governmental crisis. ■

*Robert Steinbrook, an occasional contributor to IN THESE TIMES, is traveling in Scandinavia. He has worked for the Chicago Tribune and other newspapers.*



## CHILE

# Pinochet stalked by domestic foes, U.S. investigators

By Nena Terrell

**O**N SEPT. 5, HUNDREDS OF students from the University of Chile Law School staged an anti-government boycott of classes, sang the Chilean national anthem, and shouted, "Liberty and justice." The week before, a labor protest at Chuquicamata, the world's largest open-pit copper mine and an important source of Chile's revenue, caused the government to declare a state of siege throughout northern Loa province. Thirteen workers were arrested.

The on-going investigation into the 1976 murders of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier and his American co-worker Ronnie Karpis Moffitt has already produced formal indictments against four members of the Chilean secret police, DINA, now known as CNI, including its former chief, Gen. Manuel Contreras, Pinochet's closest confidant. Weakened by the growing Letelier murder scandal, Pinochet was forced to ask Gen. Contreras' resignation, and while military discontent over his sacking began to split military allegiances, the Chilean press awoke from its four-year-enforced sleep. It speculated that Contreras shipped suitcases out of Chile that contained all the documents related to the assassinations. According to the Aug. 7 edition of the Chilean daily *La Segunda*, Contreras dispatched 12 to 14 suitcases on a German ship, the *Badestein*, headed for European ports.

The impending trial, scheduled for October, threatens the last pillar of Gen. Pinochet's rule. This week, the U.S. State Department delivers its formal request for the extradition of DINA officers Gen. Contreras, Col. Pedro Espinosa and Capt. Armando Fernandez Larios. U.S. government sources say Gen. Pinochet is certain to be implicated. In what could be construed as a veiled threat from the Chilean government, *Que Pasa*, a pro-Pinochet newsweekly, raised the possibility last month that the Chilean government could, for its own pride, request the extradition of former CIA director Richard Helms for murder.

The 1975 Church Committee report, according to *Que Pasa*, proves Helms' role in the kidnapping and murder of Chilean armed forces chief Gen. Rene Schneider in October 1970. The CIA had engineered the Schneider caper to provide a pretext for a military coup to prevent Allende's inauguration.

Last fall, Helms was allowed to plead "no contest" to a misdemeanor charge of perjury growing out of a Senate investigation into CIA-International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation destabilization activities in Chile. Last month several felony charges were dropped for "national security" reasons against ITT officials Gerrity and Bereliez. However, if Pinochet resorts to using the Helms case as a bargaining instrument against the extradition of his DINA agents, he would sacrifice what few friends and connections he has left within the U.S. government. FBI sources in Washington, working on the Letelier-Moffitt case, laugh openly at Pinochet's threat to extradite Helms and claim that "the cheap chameleon's days are numbered."

Meanwhile, U.S. government investigators are looking into the activities of a high Chilean official in the Organization of American States who is believed to be the U.S. DINA chief. This person met several times prior to the Letelier-Moffitt assassinations with the confessed logistical director of the assassination, U.S.-

Angered by the U.S., the government has threatened to extradite ex-CIA head Richard Helms for his role in Allende-era murders.

born DINA agent Michael Townley. Townley is in U.S. custody awaiting sentencing on a reduced charge of conspiracy in return for his full cooperation with the U.S. investigation.

At the same time, investigators have uncovered the identity of a woman DINA agent using the name of Lilliana Walker Martinez. She had accompanied Capt. Fernandez Larios to Washington in 1976 to tail Letelier. This development is expected to give added leverage to U.S. investigators in obtaining concessions from Pinochet.

The investigation, referred to in the Chilean press as the Chilean "Watergate," has accelerated the ever-increasing isolation of Gen. Pinochet within Chile. On July 24, Pinochet fired junta member air force Gen. Gustavo Leigh for his vocal criticism of Pinochet's ten-year plan for "institutionalized democracy" and other unilateral actions taken by Pinochet.

Leigh also objected to the government's handling of the U.S. Letelier-Moffitt investigation. The mass resignation of 19 air force generals followed Leigh's ouster.

Pinochet's actions have provoked a further split in allegiance to his rule, as rumors circulate of an expected internal coup headed by Gen. Leigh and his supporters. The fact that Leigh's first pub-



Ex-CIA director Richard Helms talks with reporters in November 1977 after getting suspended sentence for refusing to talk about his role in Chilean coup.

lic appearance since his dismissal, a simple downtown stroll, prompted articles in the international press indicates the potential challenge Leigh poses for Pinochet. The *Washington Post* Sept. 1 report called the mid-day walk a "symbolic

first step by Leigh to keep his name before the public as a possible alternative."

The question is no longer one of Pinochet's fall, but when and how.

Nena Terrell is the executive secretary of the Chile Committee for Human Rights.

## SOUTH OF THE BORDER

### Guerillas hit El Salvador

The Salvadorean Catholic church denounced the disappearance of 99 persons arrested by the police. Archbishop Arnulfo Romero, listing all the names at a cathedral mass, said church-government relations had become increasingly strained "since the church came out in defense of the oppressed." Last week the Armed Forces of Resistance kidnapped a Swedish telephone company executive, demanding in exchange for him publication of a manifesto that the guerilla organization "intends to continue fighting against multinational corporations."

### Multinationals exit Argentina

The latest of thousands of kidnappings of opponents of the military dictatorship are Elias Zeman and Roberto Cristina, leaders of the "Maoist" tendency. Their whereabouts are unknown.

Following the closing of General Motors' plant in Buenos Aires, Goodyear Tire and the plants supplying GM with plateglass and gears have substantially stopped production, and the first wave

of firings has begun in plants supplying electrical equipment, coils and condensers. GM car concessionaires are suing the company stating that they represent a higher capital investment than the GM subsidiary itself and that they have had to fire most of their employees.

Meanwhile, Citroen has cut production to 30 cars a day, Mercedes Benz has fired 17 workers who asked for raises, Borgward has laid off 500 of its 1,700 employees, and John Deere and Massey-Ferguson have closed down for a month. A union leader said this was "a solid demonstration for those who see a solution for the Argentine economy in the good intentions of multinational capital and enterprises, which in fact act exclusively in their own interests." The general exercising governorship of Buenos Aires province said, "This will be good for so over-extended an industry.... The wages received by the workers are fully satisfactory."

### Peru copper miners strike

The strike of 40,000 miners and metal workers, paralyzing copper, zinc, iron and lead mines, entered its fifth week with losses to date of more than \$30 million. A Peruvian miner with ten years' seniority receives about \$3 a day. Fifteen thousand miners with their wives

and children camped in the gardens of Lima's Faculty of Medicine and marched through the city to publicize their struggle.

There were reports the strikers had been ousted and sent back to the mining area. Firing of 35,000 public employees has been authorized but not carried out, in view of the privations they already share with private industry workers. The Bank Employees Federation is set to strike. The left in the Constituent Assembly insists that unilateral repudiation of Peru's foreign debt, now exceeding \$8 billion, is the only solution. "We have paid it long ago with interest," they state, "in the nation's wealth which multinational corporations have siphoned out, leaving crumbs in exchange."

### New Townley murder charge

Hortense Bussi, widow of socialist President Allende, said yesterday that the American Michael Townley, alleged murderer of Chilean ex-foreign minister Orlando Letelier, also made the bomb for the assassination in Buenos Aires of Gen. Carlos Prats, defense minister and commander-in-chief of the Chilean army under Allende.

—Compiled from *Uno Mas Uno* the Mexican newspaper, by Cedric Belfrage



## MEXICO

# Living all the dirt that's done to women

By Julia Preston

MEXICO CITY

**A** SMALL, BUT OUTSPOKEN and tireless women's movement has been gaining new momentum here since late last year. The change began on Dec. 1, 1977, when 100 women staged Mexico's first demonstration for the legalization of abortion on the steps of the House of Representatives.

Then feminists formed legal defense groups to provide political support for two rape victims and ensure wide, non-sensational press coverage.

In the first case, 22-year-old Cecilia Gonzalez was tried for homicide. On Dec. 28, a male acquaintance who attempted to rape her at knife-point in her apartment was killed when a pistol Cecilia pulled to protect herself went off in the struggle between them.

After learning of the case in the newspapers, feminists set up a round-the-clock watch at the jail where Cecilia was held. It was the first direct action by Mexican feminists on the rape issue, and it surprised the judge. The district criminal court judge permitted them to argue their views of a woman's right to defend her sexuality.

Only a week after the incident, the judge freed Cecilia, ruling accidental death. He further said Cecilia was justified in defending her "sexual self-determination."

The second decision came 13 days later in the case of 30-year-old Guadalupe Sanchez. Sanchez was raped in June 1977 by three men on the campus of the National University.

In this case, feminists drew the attention of Augustin Alanis, Attorney General of the Federal District (Mexico City), to the plight of both victim and judge. The district criminal court judge, in this case a woman, was threatened and physically harassed by relatives of the accused. Under Alanis' eye, on Jan. 16, the judge declared stiff sentences of nine years or more for each of the rapists.

In the wake of the trial, Alanis pledged his office to the energetic prosecution of rape cases, and on Feb. 6, Guadalupe Sanchez became the first woman in Mexico to appear on national TV news to describe the nightmare of her rape.

After these cases, in which unprecedented feminist participation was critical to the favorable decisions, six women's groups, from moderates to Marxists, consolidated a coalition. Its purpose was concrete action on rape, abortion and woman-battering. After eight years of meetings devoted largely to theoretical debate, "these cases humanized the movement," says Esperanza Brito of the coalition. "It's not the same to be a feminist in theory as it is to begin to live all the dirt that's done to women."

More recently, the coalition raised a press uproar with a protest by 300 women on July 14 in Mexico City against the Miss Universe contest, held this year in this capital and in Acapulco.

"This year, for the first time, the Mexican public in general knows there is a women's movement in Mexico, that we are not simply exotic man-haters, that we fight and win battles," said Marta Lamas, one of this country's most longstanding and vigorous feminists.

With two rape centers starting up, and two newspapers and a journal publishing regularly, the Mexican movement is now the best-organized in Latin America. It has acquired new legitimacy in the eyes of middle-class Mexicans. But it remains a small core, a few hundred women at most. The opposition is formidable, and feminism is vulnerable on several counts.

It must, of course, contend with Mexican *machismo*, a particularly virulent strain. More so than other Latins, Mexican men have the reputation of fist-fighters and pistol-packers. With them, the competitive defense of personal honor is



The Mexican women's movement has entered a new phase. It began last fall with a call for legalized abortion.

something of an obsession. A man's personal honor not only presupposes female inferiority; it must include regular displays of absolute male dominance.

In addition, Mexican feminism is an export from foreign countries on which perennially nationalist Mexico unwillingly depends. Feminists here date the birth of feminism to a report one of them

wrote on a women's march in San Francisco in August 1970. A seminar given in Mexico City by American writer Susan Sontag in November 1971 spurred more regular meetings among Mexican women.

Then, after four years of inconspicuous consciousness-raising groups, lectures, theater productions and even a collective living experiment, the incipient Mexican

## Summit

Continued from page 3.

when it was deemed absolutely necessary, as in Lebanon in 1958. More often, covert intervention has been used: Central Intelligence Agency monies to Jordan and Israel for arms to the Phalangists in Lebanon. Arms sales have also played an important part in maintaining U.S. power in the Mideast, by increasing Mideast dependence on American technology.

There is another major economic element to the U.S. presence in the Mideast, a presence described by one government official as analogous to the "days of the British empire": the pursuit of Arab markets for consumer goods and industrial equipment.

### Debate over bases

On the military level, Carter and the tri-laterals have continued to pursue the Nixon doctrine of training and arming our Mideastern allies to protect American corporate interests. They have also hedged

their bets in case the Nixon doctrine proves as anachronistic as its author. Responding to a report by the Middle East Subcommittee of the House Committee on International Relations, President Carter "ordered the Pentagon to create a special highly mobile strike force of elite troops." These troops number 100,000 and they have been trained to intervene in the Persian Gulf to protect the oil fields.

Should agreements at Camp David include a commitment for U.S. forces to occupy Israeli air bases in the Sinai, or new bases to be established in the West Bank or Gaza, they will provide a staging area for the strike force. As the Camp David talks began, there was disagreement within the Carter administration over the question of military bases. Some security managers, either desperate for success at Camp David or eager for advanced bases in the Mideast, floated the idea of Sinai or West Bank bases as a trial balloon—only to meet Soviet opposition and criticism from other sectors of the American power elite. The latter, including Henry Kissinger, saw the bases as a trap that would expand the Mideast quagmire, making U.S. troops the focus of

movement was confronted with International Women's Year. In July 1975, 6,500 delegates from all over the world descended on Mexico City to discuss women's issues.

Many radical Mexican feminists boycotted IWY, feeling that then-President Echeverria had offered his country for the conference only to advance his own political image as a Third World leader. Moderate feminists who agreed to participate in the prior planning were systematically excluded as being too radical.

After IWY, the Mexican movement only appeared more foreign in Mexican eyes. It was held publicly accountable for all the battles which had taken place at the conference.

Moreover, in Mexico, land of the 1910 Revolution, where all politics has a certain obligatory working-class tone, feminists are vulnerable for being what they reluctantly admit they are: educated and privileged middle-class women in a poor country.

As Marta Lamas points out, this presents a singular problem in Latin America. "There's no doubt that for feminism to take hold in Mexico, it will have to become a movement of poor women. After eight years of organizing, I no longer believe we're going to pull women from our own class into the movement. In Latin America, middle-class women have maids to do their domestic work. American and European women live their oppression intensely in their role as housewives, and are radicalized in that role. Because of the widespread reliance on domestic service here, this type of oppression will not be a factor in Mexico."

New cooperation in recent months between the coalition and important unions of electrical workers, hospital workers and university employees bodes well. Several left parties have also formed energetic women's commissions and adopted abortion platforms.

In general, the climate in Mexico is changing in favor of some coalition demands. On July 8, Oscar Torres Panchardo, the president of the national Labor Congress (Mexico's top confederation), started an assembly of that body by proclaiming in favor of legalized abortion. He was seconded the following day by the most powerful czar of Mexican labor, Fidel Velazquez. With Mexico's already largely hungry population charted to exceed 120 million by the year 2000, limiting new births is now seen by the government as a national necessity.

It may be some time, however, before the Mexican government sees women's liberation as a national necessity as well. ■ *Julia Preston is a free-lance writer in Mexico City.*

guerilla attacks and renewed conflict.

### Three possibilities.

There are three likely outcomes to the Camp David summit, none of which offers hope for an immediate end to the cycles of resistance, retaliation and death. The "best" that Carter and Sadat can expect is a separate agreement between Begin and Sadat calling for the return of the Sinai peninsula to Egypt. Such an agreement would provide a set of principles for future negotiations on the fate of the Palestinians and the return of occupied Syrian territory. This would give Sadat a way to quit the Mideast conflict while covering his Syrian and Palestinian flanks.

More likely, the three heads of state will grasp onto several "constructive ambiguities" and take three different versions of the events at Camp David to their peoples. This may or may not enable the Israeli-Egyptian dialogue to continue, but it will minimize the costs of their failure to reach more substantial agreements. *Joseph Gerson is a commentator on Mideast issues for WCAS radio in Cambridge, Mass.*





Gonzalo Rodriguez



## CRIME : ILLEGAL ALIENS

## SENTENCE : DEPORTATION

SOME PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SHOT  
AND KILLED FOR ILLEGALLY  
ENTERING THE U.S.

It was lunch-time at the Chula Vista Staging Facility, San Diego County. The 80 prisoners assigned to each of the four barracks were filing into small rooms to be fed in shifts of 20. Everyone ate standing up, from plastic bowls, hunched over a counter. The photographer and I watched discretely from a distance as the men we were to interview wolfed down their meal. Lunch was over in five minutes.

### Menu

Breakfast: Coffee and donuts  
Lunch: Coffee, tortillas, chile  
Dinner: Chile, tortillas, coffee

It is comforting to know that the Immigration and Naturalization Service is sensitive to the gastronomic needs of inmates. (Although the "chile" was really just beans.) The INS is aware that its enforcement arms have been accused of "gestapo tactics" in their blitzkrieg raids on factories, homes, bars, movie houses, and soccer fields. Some people have even been shot and killed for the crime of illegally entering the U.S.

"The facilities are on display, not our inmates," said Robert D. McCord, Assistant Patrol Agent and spokesman for the U.S. Border Patrol, as he warned us about taking photographs. (No full face shots without the subject's consent.) McCord is a tall, thin man impeccably dressed in the dark green uniform of the INS. He has a habit of leaning back in his chair, inhaling, then sighing deeply when asked certain questions.

"The problem is bigger than all of us," he says with exasperation. "We caught 9,004 illegals just last week. Half of all the persons crossing the border illegally pass through San Diego County on their way to Los Angeles. There they can get lost among the second largest Spanish-speaking population in the world."

"The term wetback just doesn't apply anymore," says McCord, and the day of smuggling aliens across the border at ports of entry via false bottoms in trucks and under hoods of cars seems to be over. Today they penetrate our

borders on foot, in regiments (3,000 per night), yet we can only catch an average of 900 a day."

Last June the Border Patrol added another 100 men to beef up its contingent of 350 at Chula Vista. Fifteen percent of this force are Latino.

Chicano groups prefer to use the term "undocumented worker" when referring to the mostly young males who come to the U.S. from all parts of Latin America looking for work they cannot find there. Six out of ten are Mexican, but nine out of ten are Latino.

### Crossing the frontier.

Elizondo left his native village (with no running water) in Michoacan to study electronics in Mexico City, but had to drop out after his father died. There were brothers and sisters to support.

"I had trouble getting a job in Mexico City," says Elizonda, a tall, good-looking young man of 22. "I had been involved in some union organizing and I fear that I was black-listed. So I hitch-hiked to Tijuana and joined a flock of *pollos*. I got caught two times by the *mosco* (one of two 500 C Hawk helicopters) and once by the *migra* jeep. On the fourth try I finally caught a good ride all the way to Salinas."

Guillermo, 32, left his small city inn Aguas Caliente in search of better pay and came by bus to Tijuana. "You can't live on 60 or 70 pesos per day anymore," he said, "and I had a family of five to support. So I hung around the bus station and before long I was approached by a 'coyote' who offered to take me to Los Angeles for \$200. I had a little money saved up and so I struck a deal. Then he told me to wait in a nearby bar until late afternoon. I paid for my trip and I was told to stay out of sight."

Once it starts to darken the *pollos* are roused from their hiding places in garages and bath houses to prepare for the rites of passage. Many wait to be sent into the U.S. from the *Colonia Libertad*, a barrio bordering the international border. Here there is no fence and it

is easy to cross freely into Spring Canyon, a rugged area notorious for being the scene of brutal attacks and robberies on the unsuspecting by gangs from both sides of the border. Here the Border Patrol has placed electronic sensors to detect movement.

Nothing can stop them. They hide in the bushes, smoking and talking in hushed whispers, waiting for the coyote's whistle to move out. Border Patrol jeeps jockey for position on the American side. The sun has set. One group suddenly bolts out into the open, and just as quickly dives into a ravine, out of sight. Was that just a tactic to divert the *migra*? *El Mosco* appears out of nowhere—its searchlights probing, loud-speaker blaring. The drama has begun.

Once across, Elizondo had no trouble finding a job picking lettuce in the fields for \$2.40 per hour. Ironically enough, in view of his former union organizing, he confessed to joining the Teamsters Union instead of the United Farm Workers because he had been told that the UFW did not hire illegals and would turn him in.

Guillermo and six other men followed their guide on foot for nearly an hour through the canyons until they reached a dark country road near Southwestern College in Chula Vista. He was then driven in a camper to Los Angeles during the night and dropped off at his aunt's home. After washing dishes for two months he was fortunate enough to land a job at a Chrysler automobile plant making a hefty \$810 per month—most of which he sent back to his family in Mexico.

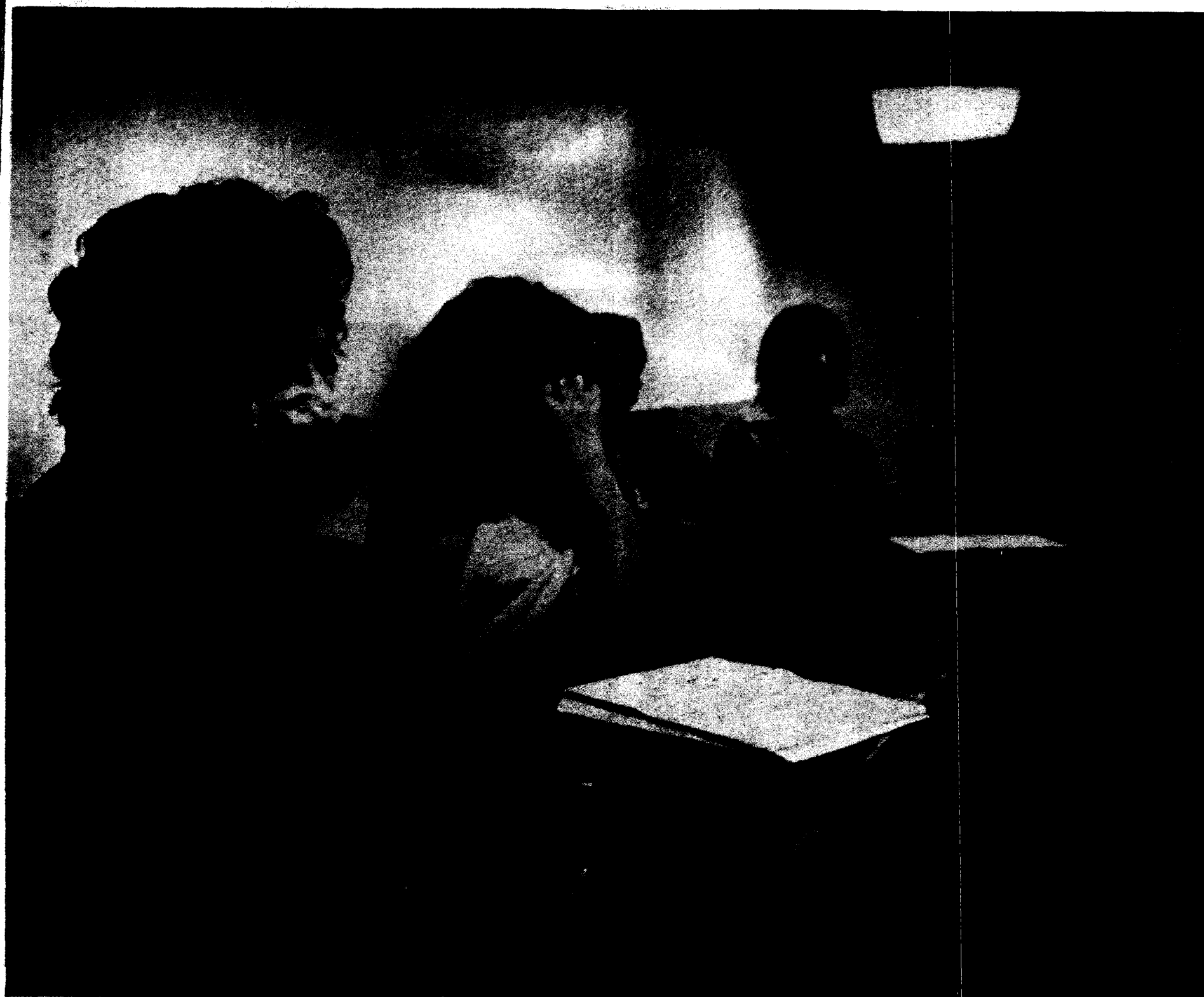
Alejandro, 55, claimed he had been working in the U.S. since 1951. He entered illegally as a *bracero* on six different occasions, and as an illegal three times. For the past two and a half years he has been working in a small factory in Los Angeles.

"I made and cleaned shields like his," said Alejandro, pointing to the Immigration officer's badge. "These shields must be polished carefully, otherwise they will scratch and be defaced. I spent many hours polishing the police and immigration officers' shields."

"I had a good boss," recalls Alejandro, his clear blue eyes shining. "He let me work overtime, Saturdays, Sundays, because he knew I needed to support my wife and four children. Some of the other men—blacks, and Chicanos and whites—would get their paychecks during lunch and come back to work half crooked. He would fire them. Not me, I never missed a day's work—*Gracias a* Continued next page.

BY  
CARLOS  
MORON





Photos/Carol Morton

*Dios*—and I attribute my good health (He looks ten years younger than his age) because I do not smoke or drink.”

### Living in quiet desperation.

The ten men I interviewed had worked as dishwashers, farmworkers, carwashers, busboys, gardeners, and unskilled factory workers—low-paying jobs that many Americans disdain. None of them had ever been on any kind of welfare; not only would they risk apprehension by applying, but the dole was anathema to their work ethic. One was even a small property owner in Los Angeles and thus paid taxes. In a recent study by Wayne A. Cornelius, a political scientist at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he found that “migrants paid into the U.S. Treasury far more than they collected in the form of benefits from tax-using programs.”

The ten men all lived lives of quiet desperation in the U.S. “I never went to bars or pool-halls,” said one. “I went out only to work and shop for food. One learns to live calmly, invisibly. He who causes, who is noticed, is detained.” According to Cornelius, “The average length of stay in the U.S. seems to be between six to eight months,” with most opting to cash in their chips and return to their homelands to lead normal lives.

If an undocumented worker is caught by the authorities, state or federal, he is advised by his own people “not to resist and to go peacefully.”

Some do put up a fight. Last April, in Spring Canyon, not far from the border, one of a three-man Border Patrol team was seriously injured trying to arrest various suspects. Border patrolman James Bradshaw was running up over a ridge when he caught a fist-sized rock full in the face. His nose was broken, his skull was cracked, and he was in the intensive care ward for several weeks. Three suspects were later apprehended and one of them was charged with assault on a federal officer. Bradshaw’s

face required skin transplants and plastic surgery. Three months later he was still on the sick list.

“We’ve had half a dozen assaults on officers between January and May,” said McCord regretfully. “Things are definitely heating up out there. Any time you have a no-man’s land filled with desperate people looking for work, smugglers of every persuasion, plainclothes San Diego Police, and the Border Patrol—there is always the danger of confrontation.”

“Conversely, wasn’t there an instance not too long ago,” I asked, “where a border patrolman raped a Mexican woman while she was under arrest?”

“Yes, and he was fired immediately,” replied McCord, “even though there was some question as to whether or not she willingly submitted. And so he has never been tried.”

Little notice has been paid to the suffering that women go through. Some Chicanas in California are beginning to investigate the situation of undocumented women who as domestics are not merely underpaid, but sexually exploited by employers as well. A second pattern of abuse is the slow and subtle implementation of sterilization programs in the Southwest to stunt the Chicano population growth. Thirdly, a study of the border city assembly plants where Mexican women work is also underway, according to Joseph Sommers, professor of Latin American literature at the University of California at San Diego.

### Getting caught.

Back in the holding tank the men were telling how they got caught.

Alejandro had been offered a ride to his home in Wilmington from the factory where he worked in Los Angeles. Some premonition told him not to get into the car, especially when he noticed that the driver and two co-workers had cans of Bud tucked between their legs.

“We sped off burning rubber,” he

said, “and turned the corner with tires squealing. And because the cops are so on top of it, they heard the noise and stopped us. Within minutes, all three of us were being asked to show our IDs and within three hours we were riding in a green INS van on our way here.” Alejandro claims he spent another five days waiting to be deported without being allowed to make a phone call or to pick up his personal belongings.

Elizondo was walking down a dirt road on his way to his job picking lettuce when the Border Patrol picked him up. “They made me pay \$30 for my bus fare from Salinas to Chula Vista,” he said, producing a receipt. “And because I said I was from Michoacan they are also making me pay my airplane fare from here to the interior. That’s another \$50 for a vacation I cannot afford.”

Guillermo’s story was similar. He too was being detained until a charter flight aboard a Mexican airline could be filled, and he too had to pay for it out of his own pocket. The Los Angeles police stopped him on the Santa Monica freeway because of a defective taillight.

“I am always very careful about the way I drive,” said Guillermo, who had only a Mexican driver’s license. “And when I left home to visit my girlfriend everything was fine. The taillight burned out on the way. And now they have impounded my car. How am I supposed to get it back?”

### We’re not such bad guys.

“Of course the men are allowed to make phone calls,” said McCord, “and we allow them to take their personal belongings—up to a certain weight limit. We even try to pick up their paychecks for them. We don’t impound their cars. The city or state may, but with proper identification all property is retrievable.”

“And we do not coerce anybody into paying their bus or air fares. The men you talked to are voluntary deportees.

You see,” he points out, “they could be legally deported, depending on the number of times they have been caught entering in the past. Now, they don’t want to go to jail, and we don’t want to keep them. The federal prisons are crowded enough as it is.”

“We can’t even fingerprint all of them,” said McCord sardonically, “only a certain percentage—to figure out statistically their rate of return. The FBI asked us not to fingerprint because the volume would jam their computers.”

“Then there’s the Central Americans who pass themselves off as Mexican citizens by studying the geography and the presidents and the name of the main street in a certain town. How are we supposed to tell the difference between a guy from El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Mexico?” asks McCord. “Still, 350 to 400 each month are flown back to Central America at government expense.”

McCord spends his day answering questions and rattling off statistics. His job is a difficult one: He has to persuade newsmen and pressure groups that his border patrol agents are not Nazis.

“You make it sound as if these illegals are being held here incommunicado,” he continues, “but the average length of stay is only 24 hours. There may be exceptions—like someone who is picked up in San Francisco, shipped here, processed to El Centro, then on to La Tuna to do time. And I don’t know how they do things in Los Angeles, but I do know how we do business here.”

McCord closes his eyes, leans back in his chair, puts the palms of his hands together and takes a deep breath, then adds: “We don’t work hand-in-hand with the state or local police. Catching illegals isn’t their job. They haven’t got the time. But if one stumbles into them, sure they’ll call us.”

“And we no longer raid movies, soccer games, or church parking lots!”





### Measures to stem the tide.

Alejandro was talking into the tape recorder; the oldest of the group, and certainly the most relaxed. One got the impression he had been through this many times before.

"In spite of the fact that I was arrested, jailed, and about to be deported, I am not bitter," said Alejandro. "I am a *campesino*, I was born as poor as any man here, but today I am the proud owner of a very nice house in Durango where my family lives. I built that house with my labor. I don't want to deride my *patria*, but I must give credit to the U.S. for the time I worked here. One must give credit to the Americans for having more order and less corruption than in Mexico. Back in Durango I could never get my crops off the ground—it was either the bad weather or the crooked bankers."

A wide range of groups variously claim that undocumented workers (1) take jobs from American workers at a time when unemployment is high, (2) take advantage of public aid, and (3) do not contribute to the support of the school system because they pay no taxes. They bemoan the fact that the law provides a penalty for up to six months for entering the U.S. illegally, yet the volume of offenders is so high and space in federal prisons so limited that only a very few spend time in jail.

Republicans and Democrats alike are pushing for passage of the Rodino Bill that would make it illegal to employ aliens. Some people favor wholesale deportations reminiscent of the forced repatriations of the '30s and the Operation Webback campaign of the '50s. There is also a call for increased funding for the INS—for more agents, fences, helicopters and detention centers. There is even the counterfeit-proof identification card favored by Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall—similar to the one carried by the black citizens of the Union of

South Africa. All this is designed to keep out men like Alejandro.

President Carter has attempted to defuse the increasing tension along the border by appointing a Mexican-American, Leonel Castillo, to replace a conservative former Marine general as director of the INS.

Most people in the Chicano community are adopting a "wait and see" attitude towards Castillo. He has been regarded as a progressive force in Houston politics, and has promised a fresh, human approach to the immigration problem. Castillo supports amnesty for undocumented workers now residing in the U.S. and keeping the borders open. At the same time, he would increase funding for the INS and favors the Rodino Bill.

The estimates of illegal aliens in this country range from two to 12 million, although it is commonly argued within the administration that the actual figures lie between six and eight million—although no one knows for certain. They constitute one of recent history's largest migrations and, like the Irish, Italian, Eastern European, Jews and Africans before them, their children will be demanding a share of the American pie.

Assistant Patrol Agent McCord is right: "The problem is bigger than all of us." As for the men awaiting deportation behind bars, what do they think?

One man, standing next to an immigration officer, said, "They're going to dump us someplace in central Mexico and so I am forced to return. What am I going to do down there, eat cactus?"

Another man, a stocky, broad-shouldered man of 35, said, "I am thinking about my family, my job, the time and money I lost. I am thinking about what a big game this life is, in one door and out the other. But most of all, *compadre*," he said smiling, "I am thinking about how long it will take me to get back into the United States this time." ■

"I NEVER WENT TO BARS OR POOL HALLS. I WENT OUT ONLY TO WORK AND SHOP FOR FOOD. ONE LEARNS TO LIVE INVISIBLY. HE WHO IS NOTICED IS DETAINED."



# IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

## Agnew's ghost haunts Farber and us

The fining and imprisonment of *New York Times* reporter Myron A. Farber, and fining of the *Times*, for refusing to obey a subpoena to turn over Farber's entire files relating to the New Jersey murder trial of Dr. Mario E. Jaslavich, is another in a series of blows against a free press in the U.S. It follows closely upon the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling that the Fourth Amendment does not prevent judges from warranting police to invade newspaper offices to search and seize materials in journalists' files and desks.

Unlike the near universal protest by media people and civil libertarians against the Fourth Amendment ruling, the response to the Farber ruling has been divided, and even some protestors have been ambivalent in their opposition. The Farber case, it is said, poses two difficult questions: that of two basic rights in conflict—the freedom of the press vs. the right to a fair trial, and that of whether freedom of the press elevates journalists above the law.

We think, however, that carefully examined, the Farber case does not involve these questions so simply put, that they are false issues obscuring the real issue of press freedom.

There is no question—at least since the Supreme Court's 1972 ruling—that a journalist is not exempt from giving material testimony under oath in a judicial proceeding. Nor is there any question that a journalist may be required to turn over documents, if in possession of them, that may materially bear upon a case. Refusal to cooperate in either way legitimately subjects the journalist, we believe, to contempt of court charges as with any other witness, and if the withheld evidence is substantially material the judge may order a mistrial. The right to a fair trial is thereby protected.

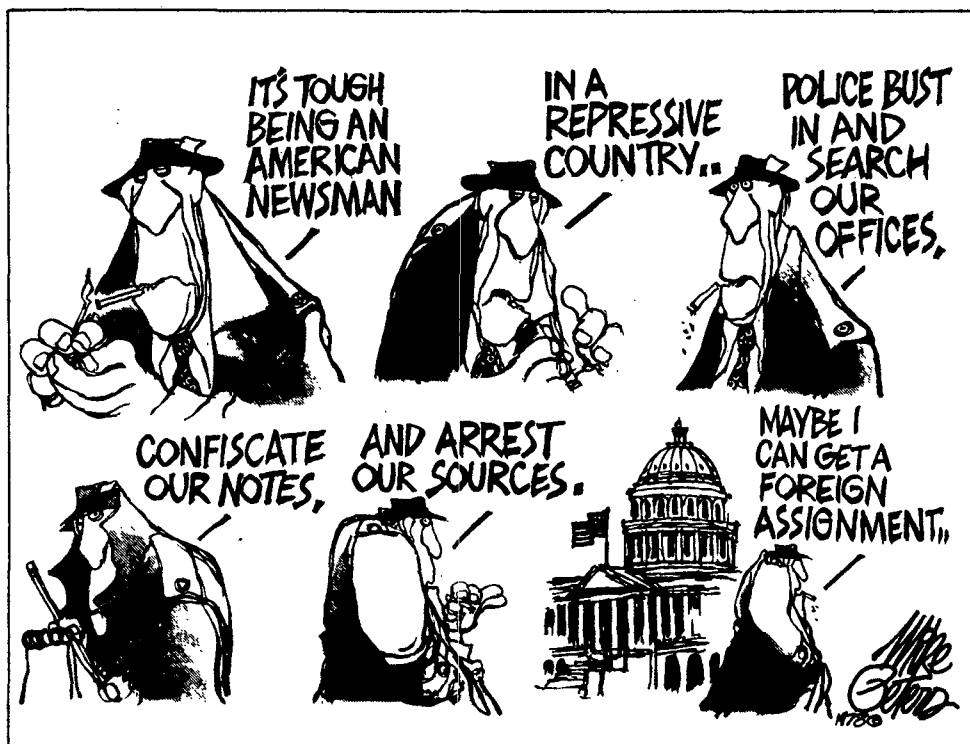
But that is not the issue in the Farber case. Trial judge William J. Arnold (upheld on appeal by U.S. district judge Frederick B. Lacey), ordered a blanket

subpoena of Farber's entire file relating to the murder charges. Defense lawyers made no factual argument as to the materiality of the evidence sought and, as Justice Thurgood Marshall noted, neither did the trial judge "make any independent determinations, of materiality, relevance, or necessity" in issuing the subpoena for his in-camera inspection of the entire files.

In disobeying the subpoena, Farber and the *Times* are defending the confidentiality of sources without which news gathering, crucial to a free press able fully to inform the public, is put in jeopardy, if not made impossible. And they are defending the inviolability of the inner thought process itself without which freedom of thought loses its substance. For, in commanding submission of the entire files, the subpoena extends the government's reach not merely into raw notes and documents, but into the raw materials of the free thought process—the writer's preliminary formulations, speculations and conjectures—idle or otherwise, private and even unpublishable hunches, intuitions and insights, without which there can be thought, but not free thought and little new or creative thought.

If let stand, the subpoena along with the Supreme Court's Fourth Amendment ruling would tend to dry up confidential sources of information, as people would more strongly fear exposure and reprisal (whether just or unjust), and it would chill if not freeze the thought process itself among all writers on public affairs.

The end result would be greater insulation of public officials and others with public trusts (from corporate directors to doctors) from public scrutiny and accountability. The result would be a press less able to serve the people's right to know. It would magnify the government's power to intimidate and muzzle an already timid press. It would make for fewer trials—fair or unfair—of alleged wrongdoers. It would go a long way toward do-



ing for the Nixons in office what the "plumbers" failed to do.

Protecting the confidentiality of sources and the freedom of thought from so long a reach of the government does not place the journalist above the law. First, as already indicated, the journalist is not exempt from the obligation to testify in full under oath, nor from yielding material written or other physical evidence.

Second, the Constitution protects the freedom of the press and thought. Statute law protects the lawyer-client, doctor-patient, clergy-confessor, husband-wife relation, just as certain states' "shield" laws (including New York's and New Jersey's) protect a journalist's notes and documents. Like the other protections, that asserted by Farber and the *Times* has been, from long experience, imbedded in the law, in the general interest of society to preserve and strengthen liberties essential to democracy, itself the basic con-

dition of just law and fair trials.

These we think are the real issues in the Farber case—freedom of the press and of thought, public accountability, and the vitality of democracy.

It may be that a quasi-populistic glee at seeing the august *Times* cast in the role of victim explains some people's hesitancy to stand unequivocally against this latest attack on the press. Or Agnew's ghost may still be stirring in some people's second thoughts.

The *Times* is no paragon of independent journalism nor a shining example of a truly free press. But if let stand, what happened to Farber and the *Times* in this murder trial can happen to other newspapers and journalists in other trials, including political trials. The *Times'* cause is everyone's, for in this case, what happens to the "most of us" will happen to the "least of us," only more so. ■

## Carter's bad neighbor policy in Nicaragua

For the better part of the 20th century the U.S. government has waged war—cold and hot—against social revolutions in Latin America. It has done so to make that area safe for U.S. investment, trade, and strategic supremacy. U.S. intervention has also played a major role in making Latin America safe for the propertied classes and their dictatorships, thus binding them as allies to U.S. global power.

The last thing U.S. policy has done, or sought to do—whether in the form of "big stick," Good Neighbor, or Alliance for Progress—is to make Latin America safe for democracy as the U.S.-backed dictatorships from Batista (Cuba) and Trujillo (Dominican Republic) to Pinochet (Chile), Geisel (Brazil), and Somoza (Nicaragua) attest.

Pax Americana has spread the pox of tyranny and poverty throughout Latin America. "Aid" programs are part of the contagion. The funds subsidize U.S. corporations' domination of Latin American economies. They line the pockets of local oligarchies, and arm and train their military forces. In encouraging investment in export-industries, inessential imports, and urban real estate, the aid programs intensify lopsided growth, rural depopulation, urban slums, and the most brutal forms of class exploitation, including the wholesale violation of human rights.

Latin American "underdevelopment" is the other side of the coin of a maldeveloping capitalism tied to tyrannical, of-

ten fascist, political regimes.

As capitalism in Latin America has become so closely identified with tyranny, popular opposition movements for democracy and justice there are increasingly, at the same time, revolutionary movements against capitalism. Those movements attract allies among the clergy, intellectuals, professionals, even sectors of local business, appalled by endemic injustice and inspired by national patriotism.

Over and over again, the U.S. government, in the name of "stability" that in fact produces chronic instability, and police-state repression, lines up with despotism against popular movements opposed to capitalism, or perceived to be so opposed.

Nicaragua is the latest example of the vicious circle of pox Americana (see *ITT*, Dec. 14, 1977, and Aug. 23).

On a per capita basis, Nicaragua ranks as one of the largest Latin American recipients of U.S. "aid." Its 2.3 million population nevertheless remains in the lower one-third of Latin American countries in life expectancy, literacy, infant mortality, and nutrition. But its National Guard—Somoza's protection agency—is well fed, well armed, and well-clothed in U.S.-style uniforms. Thanks to U.S. aid.

Last summer, the Carter administration, with bi-partisan Republican support, headed off attempts in Congress to cut off aid to Somoza. Since then Carter has released \$12 million in "economic aid"

and \$3.1 million in aid for Somoza's National Guard.

In continuing to aid the Somoza dictatorship, the Carter administration is opting for the traditional vicious circle against revolution and popular democracy in Nicaragua. He can't have that tradition and credibility for his professions of concern about human rights.

Somoza's despotism is as "made-in-America" as Coca-Cola. His daddy was installed in power under U.S. auspices, as a "good neighbor" back in FDR's time after two decades' occupation of Nicaragua by U.S. marines. Junior was educated at West Point and he inherited daddy's mantle along with a large part of the nation's land and wealth, which he shares in a neighborly way with United Brands (alias United Fruit), Exxon, Citibank and other U.S. "free enterprises."

But that has made him a bad neighbor of most of the Nicaraguan people. His regime is now disintegrating. The armed Sandinistas have wide popular support, and backing from Nicaragua's Catholic clergy. Their program calls for democracy and socialism.

The Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, fearing revolution and disgusted with Somoza's greed and brutality, has turned against the dictator as a liability and is maneuvering for leverage against revolution with belated calls for democracy.

The Carter administration is also maneuvering. It is seeking either to "aid"

Somoza into cosmetic reforms or to guarantee the transfer of power to a reform-minded "middle-class" without opening the way to a Nicaraguan Castro, an Alende, or even a Juan Bosch (from whom the U.S. marines "saved" the Dominican Republic in 1965).

With the U.S. record of "aid" and intervention in mind, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, liberal editor of the Nicaraguan paper *La Prensa*, stated the U.S. should at last "leave us alone to take care of our own affairs." For such thoughts Somoza's thugs gunned him down last year.

Chamorro's advice is the best. Not to take it is to risk drawing the U.S. into a new adventure to save Central American "dominoes" from falling to "communism." But Carter, who as candidate asked, "Why not the best?" is not taking such advice. Unless enough U.S. citizens convince him otherwise: Let the Nicaraguan people determine their own destiny. Let there be an open door to revolution.

We in the U.S. do not run Chamorro's risk of being gunned down for giving such advice—though the murder of Orlando Letelier in Washington, D.C., makes us wonder. But we do run the risk of dishonoring our concern for self-determination, democracy, and human rights if we don't. It's time we in the U.S. learned to live as good neighbors in a revolutionary world. We may need some good neighborliness of that kind from others some day.



# Letters

## A baby does not cause poverty

I AM AN OLD WOMAN TYPING this. I am as old as the year, '78. I hope you will print what I say.

I was born near Laurel, Miss., and I know what the socialists are because they were always for the black folks. I had two socialists in my house in 1964 for the vote drive. They were like my own children. I don't care if they be black or white. Now I live in North Carolina with my grandson James, except right now I am in Pittsburgh with my grandson Carl. I do not take your paper, but my grandson Carl showed it to me.

Now about the abortion. I have had five children before the 1930 depression, and five more during and after. All of them are alive now but the one that died in the War. I have 38 grand-children and 19 great grand children and one beyond that, a little girl. I have worked at every kind of job, nursed people, preached and sang, was a midwife and when I was a young woman I built roads. A baby does not cause poverty. Poverty is because they never paid us enough for what we done.

I have heard barefoot and pregnant. I have been barefoot if I was pregnant or not. If a girl does not want to have a baby with a man she should not lay up with him. The girls these days act like they do not know where a baby comes from. But there is no shame in having a baby without a husband. God knows all the children are equal.

I have not worked at a job for 19 years because my grand-children take care of me. I do not know which is prettier, the boys or the girls. I am so proud of them all.

I met a man who says he is a doctor. He says they have a suction pump to pump the girls out so the baby is all mush

and goes into a bottle. I am a peaceful woman. I do not have a bad temper. I told him if I catch him near my great-grand-daughter Estelle I will break his hands, may God have mercy, I will.

My first husband was Methodist and we did not drink but we did dance. Five years ago we had a picnic with all our whole family around us. I think the white folks thought the colored was taking over, there was so many of us. And the young men still ask me to dance.

I just want to praise and thank God for everything He has done for me. I believe I am the happiest woman in the world. Don't you be worried to let the babies be born. I know God will bless you as He has me. I can still help birth the babies. Carl will tell me when you print the letter. Now may God bless you and all the socialists.

—May Alice Jeffers  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

## For a left electoral coalition

ALAN SNITOW IS THE LATEST of your writers to raise the idea of a left race in the presidential primaries (ITT, Aug. 30). This discussion has been conducted at such a low level of intensity that any hope of a socialist challenge to Carter in the primaries may be too deeply suppressed to bring to reality in time.

It seems to me that a coalition of leaders from labor, women's groups, environmental groups, minority groups, third parties, etc., must be formed no later than the spring of 1979. And a "convention" of representatives from the groups to choose a candidate and form a program to be held no later than July 4, 1979. The initiative must be taken by leaders of these groups to see if there is enough common ground to coalesce around such a challenge. Labor and socialists within the Democratic Party must take the initiative.

It is also important not to restrict our efforts to the presidential primaries. Left Democrats and third party candidates should not be discouraged from running for all offices: local, state and national. The "Grand Debate" must not end with what will in all likelihood be an unsuccessful primary bid. Third parties should

not feel threatened by entering the coalition for the primary.

Lastly, George Meany must acquiesce in the experiment, reserving endorsement of any candidate for the general election. Again, the need for the movement to start with left leaders in the labor movement seems obvious. Only they can make George ignore Carter during the primaries.

—Elmer P. Chase III  
Berea, Ky.

## Bill goody, goody

I'M USUALLY VERY IMPRESSED with Mark Naison's sports coverage, but his rave about Jack Scott's latest book on Bill Walton may mislead other loyal Naison readers (ITT, Aug. 16). Although Bill Walton's life must be pretty interesting, one would never know it from Jack Scott's account. The most you learn about Walton is that he thinks highly of Jack Ramsey, since Scott sees fit to quote Walton at least half a dozen times repeating the same line, "Jack's the best coach I've ever had," and that Bill never gloats over his own feats, only smiles contentedly when reminded. Well, golly gee, what a swell guy!

In fact, the whole book suffers greatly from Scott's inability or lack of desire to criticize Walton or give Walton anything other than a one-dimensional, sometimes rhetorical, though certainly "nice guy and serious basketball player" image. Scott is obviously too involved in an ongoing way in Walton's life to open up about his full feelings about Big Bill. Instead he collects "spontaneous" quotes from famous basketball personalities (which all sound the same after the second one) about how great a basketball and team player Bill is.

I doubt that I would have finished Scott's book if I weren't a basketball fanatic, but in the end that's the real screw: This really isn't a basketball book at all, it's really a book about Jack Scott and what a great guy he is. He takes every opportunity to give himself a pat on the back...for being hounded by the FBI, for living through being hounded, for being able to compliment Portland's opponents (and nearly anyone he can), for being able to guess what the key element will be to this or that series before hand, for not being a racist, for

standing by George McGinnis during his slump, for having famous people recognize him and on and on *ad nauseam*. It makes a leftist shudder to think that this man is popularly associated with our movement.

But don't let me dissuade you from spending \$11 on this book, the pictures are interesting.

—David Weintraub  
Oakland, Calif.

## The right is right

REGARDING MICHAEL LERNER's "Sanctify the Family" (ITT, Aug. 30): Patriarchy has existed for ages. We've only begun its social overthrow, and new forms deserve continued commitment—or should we also give up struggling for socialism, since the left in the U.S. has met with such resistance?

The right accuses the left, feminists and gays of subverting the family. Lerner doesn't want the right monopolizing a "Pro-Family" stance, and suggests forming a coalition of "Socialists and Feminists in Defense of the Family."

Lerner does not include gays in his coalition, and gays, in fact, gain nothing from such a defense. Lerner argues otherwise: by reinforcing the heterosexual and familial "emotional stability and security most Americans reasonably want," Lerner's coalition could give better support to gay rights. But only as a virus to be kept out of the mainstream.

Lerner's coalition's line would be that "people are mistaken to think gays are a cause of family insecurity or of relationships being less stable today..." But Lerner is wrong and the right is right. Patriarchy, like capitalism, means both pain and security to many people. Gay people are a blatant contradiction to the patriarchal "nature of things."

The left often accuses gays of being—literally—"bourgeois deviationists" whom socialism will phase out of the future. Gays must fight a revolution within the revolution to make sure we no longer end up in Cuban "re-education" camps or on any straight-dictated reservation. Full and free lives exert influence: we intend to live such lives. Perhaps gays and bisexuals must take up the fight where straight radicals abandon it.

—Scott Tucker  
Philadelphia, Pa.



Kim Chi Ha

## ON TRIAL FOR HIS LIFE

in South Korea. His "crime": Writing articles criticizing the South Korean government's harsh treatment of political dissidents.

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Mrs. Nurtjahja Murad has been

## IMPRISONED WITHOUT TRIAL

in Indonesia since 1968. Her "crime": being married to the younger brother of an opposition political leader.

Nurtjahja Murad and half a million other "prisoners of conscience" are in jails around the world, not for anything they've done, but for what they believe. Help us help them. Write—

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Alvah Bessie

## Considered Opinion

## Nixon on the comeback trail

Don't look now, but the Creature from the Black Lagoon, who proved once more the validity of the old proverb: "Scratch a rightist and find a crook" has risen out of the steaming swamps again, slimy as ever.

Reference is not made to Lyndon B. Johnson, for he is daid. Nor to Gerald R. Ford, who, said LBJ, didn't wear his football helmet often enough. Reference is made to the unindicted co-conspirator the football player pardoned for "any crimes he may have committed" against the government and the people of the United States.

In fact, Richard Milhous (pronounced Milouse, like Milord) has been making a comeback from the day he left the White House, streaming crocodile tears and bolstering the contention of his sedulous asslickers that he was being hounded out of the Presidency by the "Commonists," the Eastern Establishment and its contemptible Press.

He has been doing better than almost all of us, and the absence of a conscience, which psychiatrists will tell you is typical of the psychopathic personality, makes him *feel* better than most of us get to feel in a lifetime. Consider the joyful facts, in simple order:

Since he resigned four years ago he has received an annual pension of \$66,000 (Presidential), plus another \$35,000 for other governmental "services," and a postal allotment of \$14,700 a year. This is in addition to a stipend of \$150,000 a year for "staff and office expenses."

To this must be added the \$650,000 plus 10 percent of the profits he received for his television performances last year with the repulsive operator, David Frost. They must have been useful to someone aside from Dick and David, for they were carried by 138 stations, national sponsors paid \$125,000 a minute for six minutes in each of four shows and local stations sold the other six minutes to local sponsors.

To their everlasting shame, these sponsors included such hucksters as Alpo and Kal-Kan, Gallo ("wine"), Datsun, Columbia Pictures, Chevrolet dealers, Red Carpet (real estate), Northern California Savings, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Bufferin, World Savings, Pontiac, Pacific Stereo, Carte Blanche, Sizzler (fast-food chain), etc., *ad nauseam*.

fazed by his disgraceful fall from office.

•In October 1977 he made his first ten-minute political speech at the Corona del Mar mansion of a wealthy woman with three chins, where he told 50 Republican fat-cats at a \$500-a-couple buffet supper that the Party needed young, attractive candidates who must have enthusiasm and a fighting spirit (like his own).

## A serious attempt to refurbish his image seems underway. But could he ever return to public life?

To these little items, add the \$2 to \$3 million Nixon's Hollywood agent, Swifty Lazar got him for his then-unwritten *Memoirs*.

Add all the other little perks to which he is entitled, such as Secret Service protection for the rest of his unnatural life (which in the first two and a half years of his retirement cost us \$1,895,557) and you can understand why there is a smirk on his face whenever he appears in public, which is more and more frequently these days.

For there is plenty of money and public relations know-how at work quietly attempting to refurbish his "image," easing him out of his alleged "self-imposed" exile and preparing him to offer himself again to the American people as a potential savior or, at the very least, a revered Elder Statesman.

Since 1976, he has been making guarded and judicious appearances:

•That year he revisited mainland China, the scene of his "greatest triumph," and it tells us something about the present Chinese government that it was not the least bit

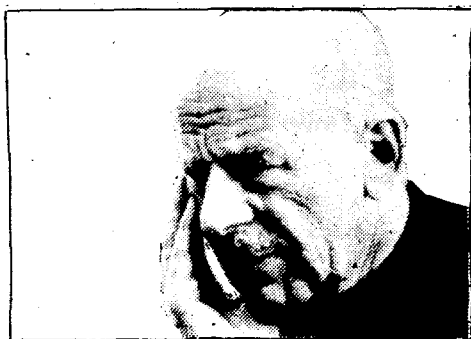
•In January of this year he made a surprise appearance at the funeral of the late Hubert Humphrey, standing beside Carter and Ford, looking appropriately bereaved.

•In February he toasted retiring Nebraska Sen. Carl T. Curtis (by phone), praising him as a man "who always fought for the principles that made this country great." (Loud applause from the live audience, who knew he meant himself.)

•In April he visited millionaire backer Robert Abplanalp in the Bahamas and in May was a dinner guest of his staunch supporter Ronald-who-used-to-call-himself-Reegan until someone told him Raygun had a more distinguished sound.

•That same month he pulled off a real coup by giving a party for 600 former POWs at *Casa Pacifica*, where he bathed in the adulation of the veterans who praised him for his courageous decision to bomb North Vietnam.

•He has publicly autographed his \$20 *Memoirs* and attended a baseball game with the common folk, making like a fan.



•July saw his first public speech, a sweaty 41-minute spiel in the tiny mountain town of Hyden, Kentucky (Pop. 500), where the natives cheered his call for patriotism and where he said, brilliantly, "tough talk, when not backed up by strong action, is just like an empty canon." (The town has voted Democratic once in the last 100 years and he had been invited to dedicate a \$2.2 million recreational complex named for him.)

•On his way home he attended a private reception for 60 invited guests in the lounge of the Memphis, Tenn., airport, and last month it was announced that he will soon start traveling again. Several countries are said to have invited him and he will visit China and the Far East, too, but not the Middle East, lest he be accused of meddling in our alleged foreign policy.

In addition to fancying himself an expert on foreign affairs, he would relish the role of King Maker and has already proclaimed that John T. Connally would make a "great" President, since Reagan is "too superficial." This after Reagan not only fed him at his own table but publicly backed his TV stance that a President can order all sorts of illegal actions "when national security is involved."

After the Dick & David Shows last year, a concerned citizen wrote to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (20 May):

"...What appalls me is that the American people should repeatedly have voted such a man into high office.... The fact is that the voters knew the essential Nixon, the basic Tricky Dick, just as well before Watergate as they do now. These people either do not understand the threat this kind of behavior in public officials poses to democracy or don't care, or they admire a soundrel, and I'm convinced that there will be enough of them to return him to office."

The man has a point. We can only hope his estimate of the number of Neanderthal Nixon-lovers is wide of the mark. ■

## The real story of "McCarthyism"

## THE GREAT FEAR: The Anti-Communist Purge under the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations

By David Caute

Simon and Schuster, New York, 1977, \$12.95

By Norman Markowitz

In the stereotypes then prevalent, to be a Communist in the '50s was, as Murray Kempton noted, rather like being a child-molester. Communists were perceived as the amoral agents of a Sino-Soviet-led world conspiracy that sought to subvert the American Way of Life in order to destroy the American nation and the "free world."

Anti-communism became as much a unifying ideology in Cold War America as anti-Semitism was in Nazi Germany, as tolerated dissenters, self-styled socialists and independent radicals often went to outrageous extremes to show their opposition to the Communist party in order to distinguish their policies from those whom the dominant media portrayed as tainted carriers of the political plague.

In the U.S. today, although the same social groupings who created the post-World War II anti-Communist political repression remain in power, that repression is usually called "McCarthyism" and perceived increasingly by dominant media as the excesses of right-wing politicians against liberals, former Communists and various political innocents caught in a wave of cold war political hysteria.

In *The Great Fear*, British scholar and novelist David Caute has written the most important and comprehensive general history to date of the postwar oppression, challenging both the old shibboleths of the cold war period and the more contemporary white-washing by selective anti-McCarthyism.

## By setting the record straight, David Caute continues the struggle against cold war ideology and political terrorism.

First, Caute removes McCarthy and his allied rightist politicians from center stage and replaces them with top national leadership and police authorities at all levels of government, the cold war intellectuals and trade unionists who for various reasons either collaborated with or actively joined the witch-hunts, and the businessmen and conservative elites throughout the society who championed and profited from widespread violations of civil liberties and democratic rights.

Second, Caute organizes and synthesizes material from many sources to show more fully than ever before how widespread the suppression really was, making factory workers and public school

teachers as significant as university professors and show business celebrities in its account. Finally, Caute unlike most American sources, treats Communists both as political activists and as the victims of political oppression.

Snide attacks on all Communists as "Stalinists" who mirrored the values of

their political enemies on the right, guilt-ridden sentimentality about Communists as noble, romantic idealists misled into heroic action, and attacks on Communist party policy as betrayals of "true Marxism" are as refreshingly absent from *The Great Fear* as they are predictably present in most American literature on the subject.

But Caute's work contains significant flaws. He fails to provide the necessary historical background on American class conflict in the 1930s, or to understand the significance of victories won by Communists and allied left militants in the trade unions and the mass protest organizations. These victories gave the Communist left an important base, making it both a signi-

ficant thorn in the side of the capitalist class in the U.S. and a *potential* threat to post-war plans to restructure and stabilize capitalism in the U.S. and worldwide.

Caute perceives the cold war in conventional categories of Soviet-American rivalry, failing to grasp the extent to which the postwar power vacuum represented a profound revolutionary crisis for world capitalism—a crisis where only the U.S. had the power to act quickly to defend capitalist world interests.

Caute fails to portray adequately the resistance of Communists and those on the left who refused to collaborate with the forces of oppression. The still little-known history of that resistance, even with its limited achievements, deserves to be considered as a remarkable chapter in the history of the American left, and as a significant backdrop to the civil rights and anti-war movements which did so much to break down the cold war consensus in the 1960s.

These criticisms, however, in no way detract from the enormous gains represented by Caute's book. By setting a lot of the historical record straight, Caute has made a valuable contribution to the continuing struggle against cold war ideology and domestic political terrorism, a struggle that is as important today in the America of Jimmy Carter and Zbigniew Brzezinski as at any time since the early 1950s.

Norman Markowitz is professor of American history at Rutgers University, Livingston.



## What's wrong with taxes?

By Diane Fuchs

Imagine a cigar-smoking fat cat in Uncle Sam pants trodding nonchalantly on a barrel. Striking out from the barrel are naked, pathetically skinny arms and legs. The fat cat is labeled "special interests" and the person in the barrel "taxpayer."

One might expect to see this caricature in *People & Taxes*, Ralph Nader's Tax Reform Research Group newspaper, or in *IN THESE TIMES*. But the cartoon appeared on the cover of the *Taxpayer's Guide to Survival*, a tax and expenditure primer prepared and distributed by the right-wing, business oriented National Tax Limitation Committee. This group, along with Howard Jarvis, suckered Californians into voting for a constitutional property tax limitation measure this summer that not only hurts renters but gives the bulk of its overall benefits to business and big landlords.

The "guide" never explicitly defines the special interests depicted on the cover, but it does make clear who they're not: the banks, insurance companies, multinational corporations, and wealthy investors. The "special interests" come across only in subtle innuendo: the culprits are presented as teachers and school kids, welfare recipients, garbage collec-

tors and firefighters...all of whom apparently wield such clout with weak-kneed legislators and public administrators that the latter have no choice but to spend more and more to satisfy the insatiable demands—and keep raising everyone else's taxes to do it. So conservatives would have you believe.

By pointing to the costs of social programs, the conservatives are diverting attention away from the most ironic welfare system in the country: tax relief for the wealthy—the billions of dollars lost by state and local governments each year through tax loopholes, exemptions, abatements and outright cheating by the *real* fat cats.

Fiscal limitations like Proposition 13 that arbitrarily and inflexibly cut taxes and spending can't begin to solve the problem. While appearing to provide overnight relief, such measures actually do a double disservice. The relief, if experienced at all, will be short-lived—other taxes, charges and fees will be raised to make up for the losses.

In the long run, the quick-fix solution works to obscure the underlying issues, and instead perpetuates the system's inequities—causing all the more hardship and dissatisfaction.

The share of property taxes borne by



individuals has been decreasing in recent years, but the tax has become enormously unpopular, most likely because of its high visibility and upfront, lump sum payment requirements. Surprisingly, though, this tax could be made more palatable—and is actually one of the potentially better tax tools for wealth redistribution.

Over the years, although property includes a broad range of items, the definition of taxable property has become so narrowed that the tax is primarily a real estate tax and one that falls most conspicuously on a necessity, housing.

At the same time, localities have had to rely almost exclusively on it to pay for the broad range of basic services the public takes for granted. As a result the demands on the property tax increase while many forms of property escape taxation.

### Solutions.

All the while, the solution to the property tax problem is obvious: tap all of the revenue sources, and combine the tax with progressive income taxation and better tax enforcement.

Anyone concerned with tax fairness should consider the following:

- One percent of the population owns 70 percent of the nation's corporate stock, and as long as they hold on to it they pay no taxes on the market value of that property. Known as "intangible" property, it is worth about \$3.9 trillion. If it were taxed at only one-fifth to a quarter of what real property is taxed it would raise enough revenue to reduce property taxes by as much as half in some states.

- About one-third of all real estate is exempt from taxation. It's worth about \$800 billion—and causes an annual revenue loss of \$15 billion. Because of it, the average taxpayer pays an extra \$310 per year in property taxes. Whether the churches, private universities, hospitals, clubs and assorted associations need or deserve their exempt status is, of course, open to question—but certainly where exempt property is leased or used for profit, the exemptions are unjustified and should be removed.

In the meantime, a growing portion of exempt property is a result of property tax "breaks" to businesses—provided by localities to encourage them to relocate or expand there. They amount to direct subsidies to large corporate interests at

the expense of all other taxpayers.

- Poor tax enforcement is also at fault. Property tax delinquency reached \$570.8 million at the end of fiscal 1976 in New York City and is about \$50 million a year in Boston. The landlords and financially sound institutions benefit the most.

At the state level, large multinational firms can often totally avoid tax liabilities by using complex structures to hide profits or to juggle their books so that profits show up in low tax states or abroad. Getty Eastern, for example, operates its multi-million dollar refinery in Delaware City, Del., without paying a penny of state tax and even shows losses of \$31 million since its incorporation there in 1972.

- Once a loophole, always a loophole. Tax breaks that may originally have served some justifiable function often simply lose their effectiveness but are allowed to linger on. So it is imperative that they be scrutinized for what they pretend to achieve and actually do. "Tax expenditure budgets" listing all tax loopholes and their estimated cost in lost revenues are being tried in a number of states—while others are considering sunset laws on state mandated property tax exemptions.

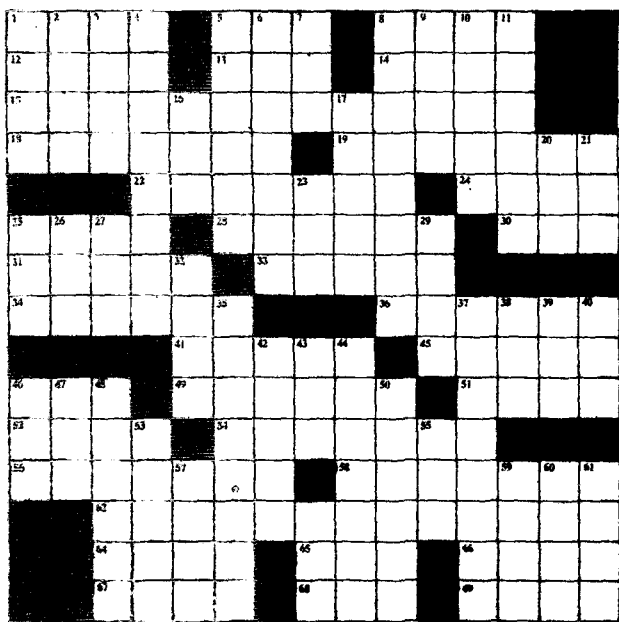
- And lastly, the sales tax, a good source of revenue, has potential for being a more progressive source. Right now, it is clearly the most regressive (everyone pays the same 4, 5, or 8 percent regardless of income). But by reducing or eliminating the tax on food and medicine, and extending it to cover services purchased primarily by businesses and the wealthier sectors of society—such as advertising and consulting firms, architects' and lawyers' services, the burden on lower income families can be minimized.

The revenue collected from such structural and administrative tax reforms would be adequate to fund programs that give comprehensive credits or rebates ("circuit breakers") to homeowners and renters for a share of the tax burden. In some states there would be enough revenues to permit removing the property tax on all owner-occupied homes.

These reforms would redistribute the burden of regressive state and local tax systems so that moderate and low income families are not compelled to carry the heaviest part of the tax burden and the real "special interests" are made to pay their fair share.

## Games People Play

by David Mermelstein



### Across

- Gr. goddess of love; Abbr.
- Predecessor of DDE
- Tax or lien; Br.
- Dissolute person
- Car org.
- Brutally governed land
- Game sweeping the country? (Advertised in *ITV*)
- 62 ACROSS is author of *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist*

- TV patterns
- More severe
- Theater signs
- Guitar ridge
- Ancient city of Asia Minor
- Bishop's seat
- Ventilated
- Baltimore players
- One of the zones
- Ravi's instruments
- Movement tactic
- Dispute
- Bath towel word
- Liqueurs
- Sicilian volcano
- Crafts companion

- Classroom supplies
- Branch of mechanics
- Tennis equipment name
- Originator of 15 ACROSS: recently denied position at Univ. of Md.
- Bitter herb
- French possessive
- Ireland
- Mind
- Richmond was its capital: Abbr.
- Bernadette and Agnes: Abbr.

### Down

- Geometric shapes
- Rich man's game
- Un-American Org.
- Hero of the '60s
- Murky
- Lecherous
- Feathers companion
- These are bad for your health
- Work units
- Seasons
- Scornful expressions
- Bridge or tennis term

- Pertaining to urine
- Preacher or shad
- Houston, from Oklahoma City: Abbr.
- Sgt., for example
- Overweight
- S.A. city, for short
- Make a mistake
- Bhutan's continent
- Reduced price: Abbr.
- Commanded
- Bridge supports
- Tman: Abbr.
- Stocking tear
- Homophone for 30 ACROSS
- Brief
- "\_\_\_\_\_ Yankee Doodle..."
- Cuddles
- Possesses
- NYC subway line
- \_\_\_\_\_ Mater
- Membranes
- Commemorative pillar
- Devout: Abbr.
- Fe
- Leave out
- Infrequent
- Directions: Abbr.
- Citation abbreviation



# GUNS

Continued from page 24.

at the gun desk. Cheap guns are taken out to an unidentified location at sea and dumped. Higher quality arms are sold by lot to local dealers.

Since passage of the National Firearms Act of 1934 that banned the sale of machine-guns, sawed-off shotguns and silencers, the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) has been the main federal agency responsible for the regulation and control of firearms above and beyond the patchwork of state laws and regulations. Under provisions of the Gun Control Act of 1968 the 1600 agents of the ATF license and inspect all gun dealers and make sure they comply with the law: that a person must be 18 to own a long-arm or 21 to purchase a handgun and that they must sign a federal form swearing they are not ex-felons, mentally defective or addicted to drugs such as marijuana.

J.P. Stathes, resident agent in charge of the San Diego office, must, with the fewer than 20 ATF agents under his command, inspect, investigate and build cases on all federal gun violations in the San Diego County area. "Most of our cases are based on violations of the federal registration form," he says. "False statements on this form constitute a felony. Usually



this involves an ex-felon purchasing a firearm. We also make cases on people selling illegal weapons or selling weapons on the street, without a dealers' permit. A lot of this information is generated through informers or from legitimate arms dealers who don't like seeing other people playing outside the rules of the game."

The ATF recently proposed that new serial numbers be required on weapons to make them easier to trace and that gun manufacturers, wholesalers and dealers be required to report quarterly the number of guns sold and their serial numbers. Congress defeated the proposal by a vote of 314 to 80 and cut \$4.2 million dollars from the ATF's budget as a punitive measure. This seems a fairly accurate reflection of the relative lobbying strengths of the industry identified, million member National Rifle Association as opposed to the four-year-old, 70,000-member Coalition to Ban Handguns.

## Part of the American tradition.

The issue of gun control is said to hark back to the Second Amendment to the

U.S. Constitution, which reads: "A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed." This item, part of the bill of rights, was specifically designed to prevent the formation of a standing army or a federal take-over of the state militias. The federalization of the National Guard in 1934 would seem to have a greater impact on the Second Amendment than the individual who keeps a .357 in his or her dresser drawer.

But if the law remains murky and subject to change the ready availability of civilian firearms has firmly established itself in the U.S. cultural tradition. The Whiskey rebellion, John Brown's raid, the Molly McGuire, the Homestead Strike, the Wobblies, the Indians and the Black Panther Party are all a part of that tradition, as is Billy the Kid, Jesse James, Al Capone, Charles Whitman, the KKK and the Hanafi Muslims.

Perhaps the contradictory nature of the gun question is best summed up by Daniel Heller, an unemployed crop duster living in East San Diego. "I'd like to live in a peace-loving society where questions of class, race and personal identity could be resolved through rational dialogue," he says. "But in the absence of that I'm glad to have my .38 special close by my side. Between the killer cops and the armed robbers I just wouldn't feel safe without it."

David Helvarg writes regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

# THE INSIDE STORY

Continued from page 2.

for those who disobey, the social pressure it exerts to keep people in line where it is dominant, the material power it can exert through civil governments in states with which the Vatican has concordats.

## Compromises rather than solutions.

How will John Paul face these challenges? What new creative input will he provide for problems that affect more and more lives with the progress of science: contraception, euthanasia, test-tube babies, cloning, abortion? His record to date is not encouraging. Except a period of less than two years following his ordination to the priesthood in 1935, when as an assistant pastor he was dealing with the daily problems of real people, all his experiences have been as a teacher (21 years) and as an administrator (20 years), a bishop who deals with pieces of paper rather than flesh-and-blood people. He is clearly on record as committed to retaining the existing rules on contraception, clerical celibacy and ordination of women.

On all of them, his experience as a teacher of dogmatic theology will incline him to conservative positions. This subject, as taught in the Roman universities when he studied there in the 1930s, was highly legalistic and traditional, guided in its concerns by the Code of Canon Law that had come into effect in 1918. His choice of name, the attempt to wear simultaneously the mantle of John XXIII, Man of faith and instinct, and that of Paul VI, the Hamlet-like intellectual, suggests that he will search for compromises rather than solutions.

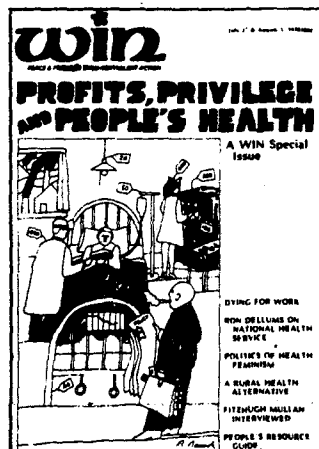
If this pessimistic evaluation is anywhere close to the mark, we fear that the reign of John Paul—and he has a life projection of 20 or more years—will continue the alienation of many committed Catholics, a process that has caused significant defections since it became clear that Pope Paul's implementation of the directive of Vatican Council II was more cosmetic than substantive. The defection can be expected to be greatest among people who are already alienated by the church's obsession with protecting the institution while failing to address their concerns: war and peace, justice, fair sharing of resources, acceptance of their life styles and priorities, updating of worship to substitute contemporary symbols for relics of the past that today suggest magic more than meaning.

The conflict John Paul inherits stems from a deep philosophical divide regarding the nature, function and purpose of the church. Catholics are still not agreed on the meaning of *aggiornamento*, the updating of the church that was the goal of John XXIII's efforts. For the Roman Curia, as for the other traditionalists living in the realm of fixed essences dear to medieval thinkers, the life of the church must remain intact on the plane of institutions and theology: only a modernization of "systems" is permissible. The progressives, the existentialists who insist that our purpose in life is to continue the creation and perfect the human condition, want a radical reinterpretation of Christ's message in order to bring into existence a living community.

So we face the alternatives: restoration or invention; fear of change or readiness to risk; a finished theology or a daily evaluation of concrete meaningful signs of the times. We fear John Paul will see his job as a modernization of systems.

Gary MacEoin's many books include one on Vatican Council II. His latest, *The Inner Elite*, is a sociological evaluation of the 111 cardinals who elected Pope John Paul I. Nivita Riley, with Master's degrees in religious education and counseling, has worked with the official church structures in different countries in religious education and community development.

## "PROFITS, PRIVILEGE, AND PEOPLE'S HEALTH" A WIN Special Issue



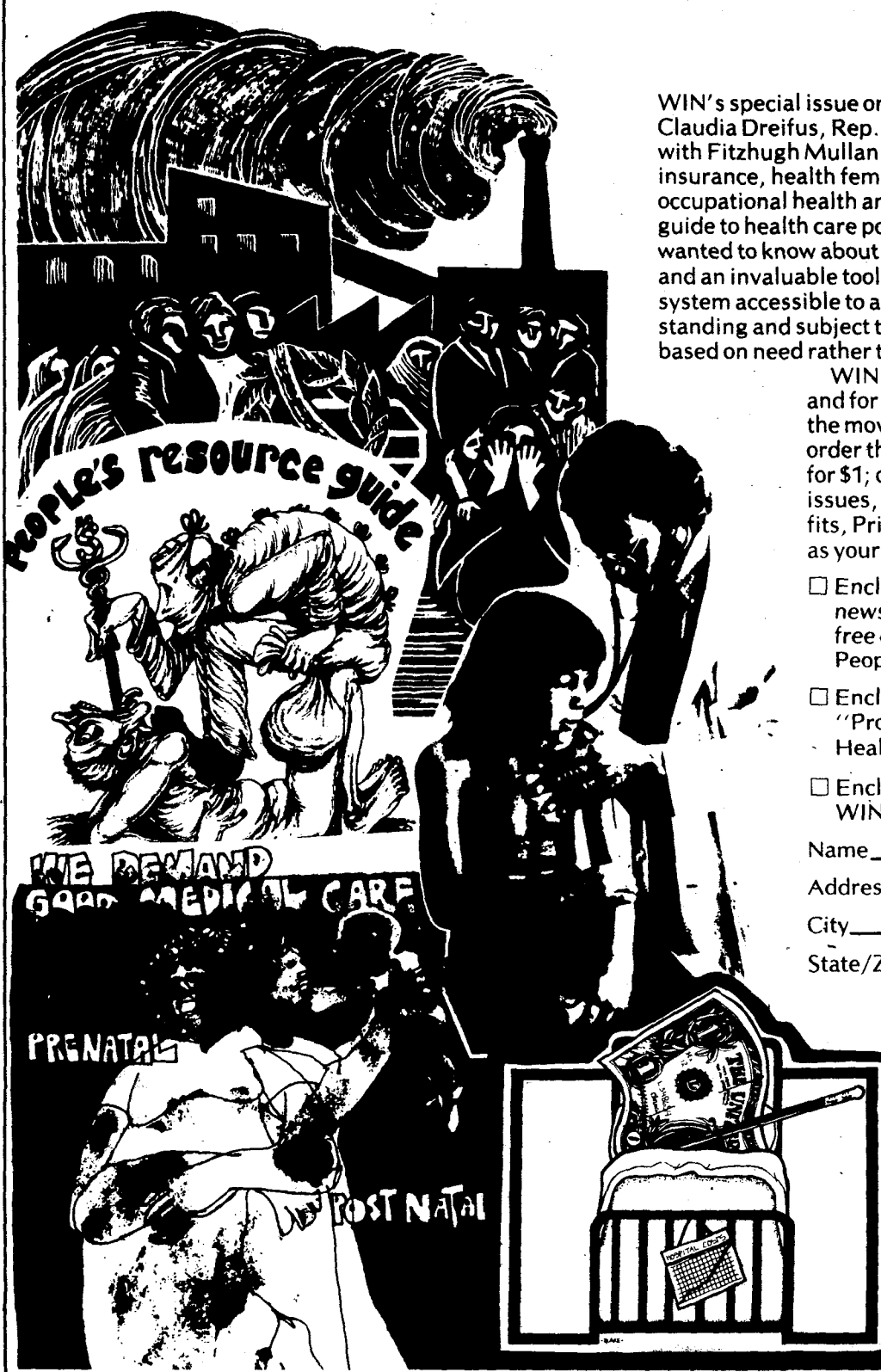
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## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## PRISONS

## Prisons begin bursting at the seams

By Mark Shwartz

**A** NEW, HARD-NOSED JUDICIAL approach to prison sentencing, especially in those states that have recently enacted the liberal reform of determinate sentences, has resulted in dangerously over-crowded, volatile prison conditions from California to Maine. Ironically, the determinate sentencing laws that were passed by four states were intended to ease frustration and anxiety in prisons.

In the near future, according to corrections officials, the situation can be expected to reach catastrophic proportions as the impact of longer determinate sentences are felt in the ever-swelling prison populations.

California, Illinois, Indiana and Maine have implemented determinate, or fixed, sentencing laws. A determinate code will go into effect in Arizona on Oct. 1. And the federal government and other states are considering similar laws.

The purpose of the laws is to create a uniform, less arbitrary method of sentencing. Instead of handing down a sentence of one year to life for armed robbery, for example, a judge might give a fixed sentence of four years.

But the public has pressured judges to set longer sentences than they used to under the indeterminate laws. As more convicts stay in prison longer, the populations swell.

The determinate sentence, said Phil Guthrie, spokesman for the California Department of Corrections, "puts the heat right on the judge" instead of the parole board. "There is very little sympathy for the prisoner in most parts of the country. Judges are being ousted in an unprecedented way because of court-watching citizen groups."

David Petrocchi, a California Department of Corrections researcher, said that "one of the things that has always been an unknown factor in the effects of determinate sentencing is how judges will behave.... If he increases his prison commitments from 8 percent to 10 percent, prison admissions go up 20 percent."

#### Sending more up the river.

Judges have responded to the new laws by sending more defendants to prison instead of local jails, according to the Judicial Council of California. California state courts sent more than 4,400 male felons to prison in the first half of this year, the highest six-month total in California history and a 22 percent increase over the same period in 1977. The total state male prison population jumped from 17,000 in January to nearly 18,200 today.

"The prison population is going up faster than we predicted," said Jerry Enomoto, California corrections director, "and this is primarily the result of a big increase in prison commitments by the courts. If this keeps up, we will face serious overcrowding and extensive double-celling in just a few months."

The only solution, Enomoto believes, is to allocate more money for new prison construction, something most states are decidedly unwilling to do.

Robert Colby, spokesman for the Illinois state prison system, which was rocked by violence this summer, said Illinois prisons are "already severely overcrowded. Because of the new sentencing law that went into effect on Feb. 1," he said, "we do anticipate an increase in the number of prison commitments. Judges are giving more severe sentences."

He said the population of the state's ten prisons, now estimated at 10,700, has increased 50 percent in the last two years.

"We're in the process of building two



Inmates at the Cook County jail await their trials and transfer to state or federal prisons.

new medium-security institutions," Colby said, "but that won't be enough."

#### Overcrowding and violence.

He pointed to the July 22 violent upheaval at the Pontiac prison that left three guards dead and three inmates injured. Although he said the prison was built to hold 1,200, there were over 2,000 prisoners there at the time of the incident.

"There are other reasons for overcrowded prisons," Colby said. "The economic condition has something to do with it. And there is no Vietnam—there isn't a war. Young people of the crime-prone age are not getting killed."

The experience in Maine—the first state to institute determinate sentencing—reflects conditions in California and Illinois but on a much smaller scale.

"We have experienced a significant increase in the adult prison population," said Peter Tilton, assistant director of Maine's probation and parole division. "At our two main adult institutions, we've gone from not being overcrowded to overcrowded. But we're still trying to figure out just what the impact of the new sentencing law has been."

The population at the Maine State Prison increased from 350 to 500 in the last two years partly because the "mood of the times" has resulted in longer prison terms, Tilton said.

While some states have reduced the length of time an ex-convict must serve on parole, Maine has eliminated parole and all forms of post-prison supervision. Of the four states that have implemented fixed sentencing, only Indiana does not have an overcrowding problem.

Since the new sentencing code went into operation last October, the adult prison population has remained at about the same level, after an initial decrease, according to Tom Hanlon, administrative assistant for the Indiana Adult Authority or parole board.

One reason for the stable population could be Indiana's liberal "good time" law that allows a prisoner to get a sentence cut in half for good behavior.

But the picture may not be so bright in

Judges are sending more people up the river under new sentencing laws. But as prisons fill to overflowing, inmates are left up the creek without a paddle.

Arizona, where a determinate sentencing law takes effect in October. The courts have ordered administrators to sharply reduce the convict population at the Arizona State Prison in Florence to avoid overcrowding. As a result, the legislature has allocated about \$30 million for planning

and construction of new institutions. But even with that, a spokesman for the department of corrections in Phoenix expressed concern over whether the state "will be able to keep up with a constantly increasing prison population."

(©1978 Pacific News Service)

## Profile of prison population unchanged since Attica uprising.

Sept. 13 marks the seventh anniversary of the Attica uprising in New York. The recent July disturbances at the Georgia State Prison and Pontiac Correctional Center in Illinois reveal that the American prison system remains in an explosive state of crisis.

The rate of imprisonment is dramatically rising throughout the country, although the crime rate is not. Parole reduction, increased and determinate sentencing, stepped up police activity and mandatory imprisonment classifications are resulting in a surge in the prison population. The U.S. now has the highest imprisonment rate of any western nation.

Economically motivated crimes against property continue to be three times as prevalent as crimes of violence. Those placed behind bars in America are strikingly found within predictable economic and racial parameters:

- fully half of the prison population is black
- 31 percent of all inmates were unemployed before their latest arrest
- 60 percent earned less than \$6,000 in the year prior to their arrest
- the vast majority are "repeat offenders"

•over 60 percent of the prison population is between 18 and 29

•over 600,000 youths under the age of 16 are incarcerated each year

Serious overcrowding and inadequate facilities are widespread in corrections systems on all levels and authorities are responding by initiating major construction programs. The costs of such prison construction and maintenance are enormous. Just one new prison cell can cost \$30,000. And to keep it occupied can cost over \$10,000 per year per prisoner.

To help meet such needs in the state of New York, the government plans to turn what will be the 1980 Olympic Village in Lake Placid into a federal prison for youths after the games are concluded.

The National Moratorium on Prison Construction in Washington, D.C., and the New York Council of Churches have formed an ad hoc group to oppose those plans and to use the issue as a focal point to question additional prison construction as a solution to the current crisis. Rev. William Sloan Coffin Jr., commented recently on the proposed Lake Placid plans, "Once again urban minorities will be guarded by rural whites; another Attica in the making."



# Wit' a Brooklyn Accent



By Mark Naison

**A**NOTHER FOOTBALL SEASON is upon us, and, as usual, I'm approaching it with mixed feelings. I'm an incurable addict, but the sordid dimensions of the sport seem to be multiplying steadily.

Even with the shortened pre-season, the NFL has had more than its share of serious injuries. Darryl Stingley, a talented New England receiver, is now paralyzed from the neck down as a result of a blow delivered by Oakland safety Jack Tatum.

Two of the league's best quarterbacks, Bob Griese and Bert Jones, have to miss the first part of the season because they are hurt.

And in the first nationally televised regular season game, the starting quarterbacks of both the New York Giants and the Tampa Bay Buccaneers were put out of commission in the first half.

Even some notoriously hard-nosed figures in the sport appear to be shaken up. When Oakland coach Jack Madden was asked what he expected to accomplish in a pre-season game with San Francisco, he said, "We're hoping no one gets hurt."

All of these developments were anticipated in a three-part series in *Sports Illustrated* this summer on "Brutality in Football."

The series documents virtually every charge made by radical critics of the sport over the last ten years: that the use of amphetamines by players—in quantities that induce psychotic behavior—has reached

epidemic proportions; that coaches on all levels of the sport teach tackling and blocking methods designed to maim opponents; and that officials fail to enforce existing rules against late hits, out of bounds tackles and piling on.

If owners and coaches do not take steps to check this violence, the magazine warns, they may be hit by a wave of lawsuits by the injured players that could bankrupt some franchises.

Whether the rulers of professional football will heed this appeal to their self-interest remains to be seen, but millions of fans appear willing to watch the game even in its current brutalized form.

## The popularity of football.

What accounts for football's extraordinary popularity?

First of all, it's entertaining. There is constant action, movement, and numerous spectacular individual plays that are visible from the stands and the TV screen. Not only is there a great deal of scoring, which Americans seem to enjoy in their games, but there is time to discuss the action with a neighbor or a drinking partner in between plays, and that makes the game particularly amenable to group viewing.

In addition, the game generates extremely strong loyalties in those who have played it, even when those feelings are mixed with memories of sadistic opponents and authoritarian coaches.

Football inspires an extraordinary camaraderie among those who play it. Some of this is due to the common experience of enduring great pain, but the nature of the game itself maximizes solidarity. In few other sports is team coordination so essential to success. Every brilliant individual achievement—a pinpoint pass, a leaping catch, an acrobatic run from scrimmage—is dependent on actions invisible to the crowd: smooth snaps from center, perfectly coordinated blocking, decoys and feints by linemen, ends and backs. The star running back or quarterback knows he is only as good as his blockers, and, if he's got any sense at all, carries himself accordingly. When a team is working well, this mutual dependency breeds affection and respect among players and allows for expressions of physical affection—hugs, pats on the behind, arms around the shoulder—that are rarely displayed by men outside the sphere of sport. This compensates for the rigors of the game.

## Some like it tough.

Nevertheless, football is also appealing because of its roughness. In a society where fear of physical violence is widespread, and where violent behavior is all too common, football seems to offer a relatively safe outlet for the aggressive feelings generated in daily life.

In many poor and working class communities, football is one of the more constructive channels for the anger and aggressiveness of young men who are repeatedly called upon to prove their strength and toughness by peers, relatives and employers. As bruising as the game can be, it can inculcate a sense of discipline and collective responsibility if it is taught properly, and is far preferable to the crime, gang fighting, and ethnic warfare that so often occurs in powerless communities.

This is a pretty heavy burden for a sport to carry—and it is not surprising that it often carries the burden poorly. Anybody who has played the game knows there is a big difference between hitting hard and cleanly, and hitting with intent to injure. Yet the ranks of the sport are filled with coaches, owners and rooters who exploit the players' insecurities by telling them that their masculinity and their livelihood depends on their ability to maim the opposition. Since many of the players come from environments where violence is rife, and, as they put it, "only the strong survive," they respond as directed.

To keep from being intimidated, those players who cannot generate such hostility naturally do it with drugs, which trainers readily supply.

The result is a brand of football that lacks discipline or restraint, which incites players into psychotic fits rather than teaching them to control their anger. It's no accident that Rosalyn Gay, the wife of a Philadelphia Eagles lineman who fatally stabbed her husband after being beaten by him repeatedly, attributed her husband's behavior to the tensions bred by pro football.

We have enough violence in our streets and homes without seeing it glorified in our most popular televised sport. It's time that fans and concerned citizens put pressure on NFL officials and the Congress to take the game back from those who have corrupted it, and take concrete measures to minimize injuries, institute drug testing before games, and suspend players and coaches who practice or encourage gratuitous violence.

## CRIME

# White-collar crime pays, pretty well

By Joseph Pissarevsky

**A**SCORE OF STATES ARE CONSIDERING new capital punishment laws and New York state is going to put some 13-year-old offenders in jail for the rest of their lives. But while this is going on many criminals are not getting any attention at all. According to John Conyers, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Crime of the House Judiciary Committee, over \$44 billion are lost to "white collar" crime every year, compared to a little over \$4 billion lost to "street" crime.

This white collar crime total of \$44 billion does not include the \$30 to \$40 billion that the U.S. Chamber of Commerce estimated in 1968 was being lost each year through anti-trust violations. The figure does include such things as consumer fraud, illegal compensation, embezzlement, securities fraud, political corruption and fraud against the government. According to Jack Anderson, "If rip-offs

**White-collar crime make street crime look small time. The white-collar crook is more subtle and efficient.**

from non-felonious price fixing were included the total would run to \$200 billion annually."

Conyers' subcommittee has been holding hearings since June on "White Collar Crime: The Problem and the Federal Response."

One reason for so much "white-collar crime" is the lack of means available to stop it. In the 1979 federal budget only \$36 million is allocated to deal with some \$44 billion in documented white collar crimes. Another reason is that some businesses are too embarrassed to admit they have been cheated. The *New Yorker*

has reported several cases involving computer fraud where businesses defrauded of more than \$3 or \$4 million have simply dismissed the employee responsible.

Professor Gil Geis of the University of California at Irvine, who testified before Conyers' committee, argued that white collar crime is not well understood. "The major difference between white collar criminals and the traditional street offenders probably is that the burglar and the robber have more limited means at their disposal. The white-collar crook can be more subtle and more efficient in his criminal self-aggrandizement."

"The members of the underclass command so few resources that, when engaging in criminality, they must rely upon stealth, guile, or frontal assaults on property to attain their objectives. Not so for elites who can use bureaucracies as instruments for the perpetuation of their criminal ends. Control over organizations thus becomes a kind of functional equivalent of the bandit's pistol."

Joseph Pissarevsky works at WBAI, a Pacifica Radio station in New York.



## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## FILM

# Foreign filmmakers tell unpleasant truths to U.S. and the UN

By Katherine Singer Kovacs

The air conditioned bus that entered the grounds of Grey-stone Mansion in Beverly Hills on Tuesday, Aug. 15, did not attract much attention. But the figures who alighted from the bus that morning were no ordinary visitors: they were foreign filmmakers invited by UNESCO to participate in its first symposium on "Cinema and Society."

The directors were chosen because of the quality of their work. There was Lindsay Anderson (Great Britain), Alfonso Arau (Mexico), Michael Cacoyannis (Greece), Youssef Chahine (Egypt), Andre Delvaux (Belgium), Nelson Pereira dos Santos (Brazil), Susumu Hani (Japan), Claude Jutra (Canada), Janusz Majewski (Poland), Carlos Saura (Spain), Ousmane Sembene (Senegal), Mrinal Sen (India), and Agnes Varda (France).

In the working paper the conference's organizers distributed at the beginning, they announced their intention to discuss weighty abstract issues like "cinema as a form of cultural expression, the role of cinema in major world issues, the future of cinema in society, the impact of cinema on various groups in society, the political dangers of cinema to society."

But it soon became apparent that in spite of the simultaneous English and French translations available, the filmmakers and the UNESCO committee did not speak the same language. While the UNESCO panel spoke of the

possibilities of the cinema, the directors were concerned with their own material limitations. When the UNESCO members focused on the potential power of cinema to affect social behavior, the directors cited instances where governments or material circumstances had prevented their films from having an impact.

Before the three days of talks between the filmmakers and the UNESCO committee had concluded, the UNESCO members had been given a lesson in American control over the world film industry and in the perils of an independent filmmaker.

## Battle against U.S. film.

The directors all agreed that neither the truth of one's message nor the artistry with which it was expressed determined a film's impact. According to Carlos Saura, there were far more practical con-



**Senegal's Ousmane Sembene:** "All governments are conservative for the artist."

ities of each filmmaker's situation. The consensus was that the power and prestige of one's country rather than the number of prizes bestowed at film festivals ultimately determined the impact of any film.

Lindsay Anderson only half-jokingly called himself the representative of "a non-existent film industry." For him the decline of the British film industry was directly linked to the decline of Britain itself. As he noted at one point, "The European myths have been played out." Now British actors live in Beverly Hills and British producers invest in American films.

Each director saw him or herself engaged in an unequal battle against the popularity of the American film. Even in their own countries, American movies had far greater prestige and far more impact than local ones. Agnes Varda lamented the fact that in France the myth of the cowboy and other cliches of American movies still capture the imagination of the people. According to Egyptian director Youssef Chahine, American films have such a strong influence in the Mideast that political decisions are sometimes based upon romantic notions of the American dream taken from the movies.

Sembene stated that in Senegal and in other parts of black Africa the newly emerging bourgeoisie looked to American movies for models with which to identify. He lamented the fact that so many American movies present characters and situations that falsify life

**France's Agnes Varda:** "You expect us to know the impact of our films. We're the last persons."

in the U.S. There are never any ghettos, just "black Tarzans"; there are no workers or farmers, just gangsters and policemen.

## Pornography or psychology.

Everyone agreed that, yes, the cinema does have tremendous impact—that is, the American cinema. While all of the directors recognized that the old Hollywood studio system is not as powerful as it once was, distribution abroad is still firmly in the hands of American companies.

In Canada 90 percent of the theaters are American-owned, Claude Jutra said. "To impose local films with local actors or stars is nearly impossible. The draw does not justify even cheap films. The few Canadian features made each year are subsidized and they invariably lose money."

As Saura noted: "It is very hard for small countries to have their own private production because all worldwide distributors are Americans who show three American films to every Spanish one even within our country. The problem of financing now forces directors such as Bergman, Fellini, and Bertolucci to make at least one version of their films in English. I think that's the beginning of colonialism and disaster."

Jutra agreed with Saura, saying, "To make a film in any language is a political gesture." For this reason, Cacoyannis had turned down offers to make Greek films in English; for this reason Sembene rejected both English and French "because to speak those languages is to be alienated from the people." In his films he had developed "a style of almost silent film, a way of dancing...because in Africa the image is all-important."

It is ironic to note that these choices, which are based on a desire to reflect the reality of one's own country, nevertheless limit the potential market for a film. Smaller audiences mean smaller budgets.

As Delvaux suggested, small budgets affect both the subject matter and the content of a film. In Belgium, with little money and caught between the French and the American film industries, filmmakers have two choices—to make either pornographic or psychological films. After making four psychological dramas "with non-existent technology," Delvaux said, "I'm fed up. I'd not like to die before tackling

*Continued on page 22.*



**Belgium's Andre Delvaux:** "I don't want to die before tackling important subjects."



**Canada's Claude Jutra:** "There are films I have not made because of the financing."

siderations: "Not everyone has the same possibility of having an impact. There is a different impact if one comes from India than from France or Spain.... It depends upon a series of circumstances, how the film is distributed, the language it's in, the budget and other commercial conditions. Films made in powerful countries have a greater impact than films made in small countries."

As this statement suggests, the UNESCO format in which 14 gifted directors sat around a conference table and discussed the impact of their art neglected the real-



Photos courtesy Facets Multimedia Chicago



# Records



## MORE SONGS ABOUT BUILDINGS AND FOOD

The Talking Heads  
(Sire Records)

When the Talking Heads burst upon the musical scene last year, they were hailed as "the Beatles of the new wave." Clean-cut and bright-eyed, they were as acceptable as preppies. Their debut album, *Talking Heads '77*, was a collection of brisk tunes that explored the emptiness of the American Dream.

Their much anticipated follow-up release, *More Songs About Buildings and Food*, adds a fullness to their sound that was previously lacking.

The Talking Heads construct their songs from tightly controlled rhythmic patterns to which lead singer and lyricist David Byrne adds complex and clever words delivered in a sharp, almost crackling, staccato style. On *More Songs* these quick-jab vocals are complemented by the electronic wizardry of Brian Eno as co-pro-

ducer. Eno adds a layer of electronic sounds and balances the group's overall sound, which results in a more melodic album without sacrificing any of its punch.

The album opens with the driving beat of "Thank You for Sending Me an Angel" and its frenetic pace does not subside until the side's end. "The Good Thing," the album's single, is a poke at those who live as though the elements of "the good life" can be itemized like a grocery list. "Girls Want to Be With the Girls" (reminiscent of "Tentative Decisions" from the earlier record) is a brilliant satire of men's discomfort with women's control over their own lives.

"Found a Job" and "Artists Only" show the Talking Heads deflating the self-important posturing of many artists. Former art students themselves (all but one went to the Rhode Island School of Design), they see through the veneer sharply yet compassionately. Byrne celebrates

that "I'm painting again!" but later pouts, "I don't have to prove that I am creative."

The most impressive cut on the record, however, is the last. "The Big Country" begins with a seemingly affectionate observation of middle America from an airplane window ("I see the shapes, I remember from maps") but ends with a firm statement, "I wouldn't live there if you paid me to."

Throughout *More Songs* the band is controlled and energetic. Chris Frantz (drums) and Tina Weymouth (bass) hold down the charging rhythm, while Jerry Harrison (keyboards) and Byrne's guitar provide short leads that complement Byrne's vocals.

Most "new wave" bands hark back to rock'n'roll primitivism: overly loud and undercompetent. The Talking Heads, however, continue to ride the crest of the new wave with a fresh and exciting sound. —Michael S. Kimmel  
*Michael S. Kimmel follows popular music from Berkeley, Calif.*

# Directors

Continued from page 21.

subjects important to my people."

But it remains questionable whether he will be able to do so. The impact of financial considerations upon the choice of subjects cannot be overestimated. As Claude Jutra said, "There are films I haven't made because of financing. If I were a writer, I would have other subjects."

## Government censorship.

United by a common desire to express themselves freely, the directors faced obstacles which were not only financial and economic, but political. In democratic countries as well as in dictatorships, certain subjects were considered taboo.

Agnes Varda described how a film she had made ten years ago on the Greek putsch was confiscated by the French government. Cacoyannis told how he had made a film financed by 20th Century Fox on nuclear arms control. When he presented them with the completed work, they refused to distribute it, claiming that it was "anti-American."

As Arau suggested, in Mexico it would not have been possible to make such a film in the first place: "We live in a totally different world. It's really a miracle to live in Latin America, to be alive, not to be in jail, and to make a film. The Mexican film is almost totally government controlled. The authorities can decide to put a film in the drawer and no one will ever see it."

"If the state is powerful, you have more freedom. I agree a film by itself is not revolutionary and is not going to change society. But people in government think so. If the people in government were stronger, they would not think so. I prefer to express myself through humor because in that way people in power will be less afraid of my films."

## UNESCO's limits.

Third World directors face similar challenges. Sembene and Chahine have also made films that were not exhibited in their native lands, and Brazil's Pereira dos Santos, one of the founders of the *cinema novo* movement, was unable to make movies for

four years.

It was appropriate that he was the one to spark the final afternoon's discussion in which the directors challenged the UNESCO representatives to take a stand on the issue of disappearing films and silenced filmmakers. After five sessions, Dos Santos broke the almost total silence when he asked what UNESCO proposed to do about exiled filmmakers and censorship.

One UNESCO organizer said that as an intergovernmental agency UNESCO does not have the power to deal with problems of individual freedom "...We cannot adopt resolutions...but there are a number of informal ways...[UNESCO's] director general has done a lot by direct contacts with heads of states to ameliorate conditions."

Not satisfied with this answer, Cacoyannis bluntly asked whether UNESCO had *any* power. When the representative gave a vague answer, Sembene spoke up: "We don't think that UNESCO can resolve the problem of liberty."

Nevertheless, he cited two instances when the director general interceded to have two banned films by Sembene and Chahine shown at UNESCO's Paris headquarters. In both cases the governments complied and Chahine's film was eventually released. Sembene summarized his view of UNESCO in the following manner: "As artists we should understand that all governments are conservative for the artist... We have to see how to get UNESCO to ask for films, musicians, etc. We are always ready to collaborate with UNESCO but we know its limits."

This discussion prompted the filmmakers to make a series of concrete recommendations: that an international Directors' Guild be established to protest in the event that directors were jailed, that UNESCO work to end destructive rivalry among film archives, and that it help to preserve what Sembene called our "good little films."

Thus the directors attempted to focus UNESCO's attention on films rather than cinema. If the organization begins to move in the directions indicated, then this first symposium will have been a resounding success.

*Katherine Singer Kovacs is a Los Angeles film critic.*

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or supervising a door-to-door canvass operation is required.

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"Attica in Retrospect," a forum featuring William Kunstler, Joan Little and Tom Wicker. New York City, Sept. 25th. Sponsored by the Fortune Society. More info call (212) 677-4600.

### EVENTS

CHICAGO READERS! Diana Johnstone, ITT Paris correspondent, will speak on "The Future of Europe: Capitalism or Socialism?" Tues., Oct. 3, 8 p.m., at Resurrection Lutheran Church, 3309 N. Seminary (enter School St.). Johnstone has recently reported on the Moro killing and the French elections, and has won high praise for her insights into European affairs. Co-sponsored by In These Times and Second City Socialist School.

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## Mime goes American-style

By David Ahrens and  
Viki Dello Joio

The first national festival of American mime was held in the Milwaukee, Wisc., Aug. 21-26.

Though the participants in the six-day Festival of American Mime (FOAM) were from seven nations and 35 states, the vast majority were American. Most of the mimes were not from the two centers normally associated with the art—New York and San Francisco—but from small towns and cities throughout the U.S. Their performing spaces normally range from public schools and universities to community centers and theaters, as well as the traditional mime stage—the street.

Mime art in the U.S. until recently associated for the most part with Marcel Marceau—has grown enormously in the past decade, not only in the number of its artists but also in the diversity of the art form itself. While most people still think of mime as a white-faced and silent individual performing illusions on the street or stage, that is no longer the case for the majority of mime artists.

### American themes.

The growth of American mime has led the art away from its European orientation and to an exploration of new forms and of new subject matter. In addition to using language—at one time inconceivable in "the silent art"—performers now also use costumes and props, music and sound effects, as well as new forms of movement.

Many troupes are now producing full-length plays as opposed to single-trick skits based on such illusions as pulling an imaginary rope, climbing a ladder or walking in place. Because of this, mime need no longer be relegated to "the side-show" but

### At their first national festival, U.S. mimes said goodbye to their European models.

can now gain a central place in the American theater.

American mimes are increasingly turning to the American experience. In one of the festival's highlights, Bob Berky, director of the Rochester-based Mimeworks, performed a piece entitled *Rock'n'Roll*, in which a rock group in the manner of The Who, slowly self-destructs.

Similarly, in *Mime Is Not an Object: The Reproduction of a Working Day*, the United Mime Workers of Champaign, Ill., successfully parodied the effects of American corporate capitalism on people's lives.

Asked to describe their work, Deborah Langerman of the Mime Workers said, "We take an everyday situation that people find themselves in, put it on stage and perform certain operations on it. [In this way] we change the relationship of the different elements of people's lives."

### Sexism and mime.

But the mime profession also inadvertently reflects the U.S. in its continuation of American sexist practices. Early in the festival a panel was convened to discuss the role of women in the profession. Although women suffer discrimination in many areas of the field—from the roles they are expected to play to who will hire them to perform—the discussion leaned toward blaming the victims. The conclusion was that if women will only work harder they will be successful in their profession.

But a questionnaire to assess the condition of women in mime was distributed and there was discussion of the possibility of creating a Women in Mime organization.

Among the 450 whites there were less than a half-dozen black participants and only two black performers, and no discussion of racial bias in the profession. Though there has been real growth in its popularity, mime remains a subject of interest almost exclusively for educated whites.

On the last day of the festival a protest demonstration was held against the imprisonment of three Spanish mimes (See *ITT*, Jan. 25). Jailed since Dec. 15, 1977, ostensibly for their satirical portrayal of a corrupt military tribunal, the three members of the troupe Els Joglars have been sentenced unconstitutionally by that same military tribunal for up to six years.

*Vicki Dello Joio has worked with the Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy and is a feminist mime. David Ahrens is a free-lance writer.*

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God made Man, but Colonel Colt made him equal. —Old Gunfighters saying

"Shooting is an equal opportunity sport," says Dick Thurman from behind the pistol counter of his Accuracy Gun Shop on University Avenue in San Diego. A squat, bunker-like building with thick cinder-block walls and a metal grill out front, the Accuracy Gun Shop contains a wide selection of the stuff that won the west. "Almost every kind of person you can think of will walk through those doors," he explains. "Men, women, young people, senior citizens, rich folks, poor folks mobile home owners. There are no 'gun types,' everyone's into guns."

There are over 200 million privately-owned firearms in the U.S. today, one for every man, woman and child alive. Roughly one-half of America's 60 million households are armed. Civilian firearms production is a \$2 billion a year industry with the big Connecticut-based manufacturers (Colt, Smith & Wesson, Dupont-Remington, Ruger, etc.) producing over five million new guns a year.

One of the most popular items on the market today is the Mini-Ruger 14. Selling for under \$300 the Mini-Ruger has the weight and appearance of an M-1 carbine with a detachable clip, but instead of .30 caliber ammo it fires the high-velocity, high-impact .223 caliber military load. "One year it's hula-hoops, another year skate boards. Last year it was the AR-15, this year it's the Mini-Ruger," shrugs one of Thurman's pistol-toting salesmen. "I started with a .22 and worked my way up. That's how I think of the Mini-Ruger, as a grown-up's toy. An adult's .22."

#### Making them go bang.

Firearms work on a very simple principle. It's based on the cartridge or "round" (called a shell when used in a shotgun). The cartridge is made up of a case, a powder charge, a primer and a bullet. When a gun's trigger is pulled a pin called a firing pin snaps forward and hits the cartridge primer. The primer is filled with a substance that explodes on impact, sending a small flame through a hole in the bottom of the cartridge into the powder compartment. The powder then burns very rapidly,

# GUNS

*"In the absence of resolving problems in a calm rational dialogue, I'm glad to have my .38 close by. Between the killer cops and the armed robbers, I just wouldn't feel safe without it."*

By David Helvarg

ly, generating tremendous pressure, up to 50,000 pounds per square inch. This pressure dislodges the bullet from the mouth of the shell and drives it down the barrel at anywhere from several hundred to several thousand feet per second. "Rifling" or grooves in the barrel, add spin to the bullet as it leaves the gun (except in shotguns that have smooth bores and fire a number of small pellets in place of a bullet).

A gun's caliber refers to the interior diameter of the barrel or the diameter of the bullet. American cartridges have their calibers designated in hundreds and thousands of an inch, .38, .223, etc. Europeans prefer the metric system, 9 mm, 7.65 mm, etc.

According to the FBI, over 12,000 people were murdered by guns in the U.S. last year with another 8,000 killed by self-inflicted wounds or by accident.

Although uncomputed, the number of accidental gun deaths is probably far less than would seem justified by the amount of firepower loose among the general populace.

"This old guy comes in here with a two shot .38 derringer," recalls Don Harper, the gunsmith at Krasnes Gun Shop in downtown San Diego. "He complains about this thing being jammed up. He starts pounding on the hammer and suddenly there's a shot goes whizzing by my arm. Well, I grab his wrist, but not before he gets another shot off in the other direction. When things calm down he tells me he didn't know the gun was loaded." Don laughs along with one of his regular customers. "Of course accidents will happen," he continues, now waxing philosophical. "I know a very prominent man in this town, a knowledgeable sportsman and hunter, who let off a shot from a .45

into the floor right over here." He walks over to the spot. "Boy, was he ever embarrassed."

While plinking, target-shooting and hunting are all seen as major recreational activities within their own right, a survey done several years ago found that a majority of gunowners listed "self-defense" as the main reason they owned firearms. When a National City gun store put 30 12-gauge riot pump shotguns on sale a year ago they were sold out in four days. "A gun like that is only good for one thing," admits Harper's customer friend. "I got one like that I keep loaded behind my front door." "People must feel they need them because they keep buying them," says Blane Hutchison, the counterman at Hiram's Spirits & Guns in El Cajon. "I believe guns are a good deterrent. I know this is the only liquor store in San Diego that's never been robbed."

#### Tracing guns to the source.

Whenever the police come into possession of a firearm they turn it over to the Gun Desk in the Robbery Division of the department. The officer working the Gun Desk will then attempt to record, identify and check the movement of the firearm.

Last year the San Diego police impounded 1,105 guns; 509 for evidence, 361 for safe-keeping (taken during family disturbances), 81 found and 154 for unspecified reasons. During the first week of June, 16 guns came in for evidence; one from a border check, one stolen by a juvenile, one used in an attempted suicide, one in a family fight, one recovered from a burglary, one from an armed robbery. The list goes on. Each gun is run through the FBI's NCIC computers to see if its serial numbers and description match up with an identified criminal use in another locale. If ballistics has recovered a bullet from a victim's body that matches the make and caliber of a recovered firearm, that gun will be test fired for comparison. Each gun leaves its own unique set of "lands and grooves" (markings) on the bullets it fires, although bullets from more cheaply made guns are harder to match.

Every six months an inventory is taken

Continued on page 18.

Photo by Al DiFranco